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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1354

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH JOURNAL VIEWS YUGOSLAV, ROMANIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Yugoslav Efforts Praised

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 24 Oct 76 p 8

[Article by Alicja Racewicz: "Getting Ready for Reforms"]

[Text] We have brought from Yugoslavia many good impressions. The warm heartedness, excellent organization and truly Slavic hospitality of the hosts gave us the opportunity to see a lot, considering the short stay, of the bewitching architecture of cities and towns and of the beautiful scenery with which nature generously endowed Yugoslavia. We had the opportunity to hear even more about things which interested us most, that is about everything related to education, the school system and teachers. We found ourselves among people who were as passionate about these matters as ourselves. Among the matters which we discussed officially at the programmed meetings and in quite unofficial conversations, the matters coming to the fore were those related to school reform. It was quite natural, both our countries are in a similar phase of intensive preparation for reform of the national educational system.

Let us start with presenting the current school system in Yugoslavia. It should be emphasized that education and school systems are under the jurisdiction of individual republics. At the federal level, the uniform foreign policy, economic system, courts and army are conducted. There is no ministry of education. There is, however, a law, the compulsory application of which guarantees a uniform school system organization in all republics. The objectives of education are the same in all republics; these objectives are outlined by the uniform party action program which defines the tasks of education.

The individual republics, for instance the Croatian Republic, have their own education councils. The councils prepare programs and plans of curricula for the elementary and secondary schools thus assuring uniformity of teaching standards. There is also republican school inspection which evaluates whether the implementation of didactic process complies with the law binding all Yugoslav schools.

It should be added that the schools are not state organs. They are independent and self-managing organizations. The directors are selected for their positions by the competitive process; the selection is made by the self-management consisting of representatives of the community, the faculty and the students' parents. The directors are selected for a period of 4 years and can hold the position only for two periods.

The preschool education covers children 3 to 7 years old. The percentage of children going to kindergarten is not high and is quite different in various regions. In Croatia, for instance, 16 percent of children of the right age are enrolled in kindergartens at this time and there is an effort to increase this percentage to 50 in the next few years.

The compulsory elementary school lasts 8 years (for students 7 to 15 years old). About 70 to 80 percent graduate. In large cities this percentage is much higher: in Zagreb it is 98 percent. For the students who are unable to graduate from elementary school there are special schools with an adjusted teaching cycle.

The secondary schools are: 4 year secondary schools [gimnazija] and technical schools, 3 year technical schools for skilled workers and art schools. About 30 percent of elementary school graduates find their way to the gimnazija. (All numerical data refer to the Croatian Republic).

Higher education includes 2-year advanced schools (which do not provide education leading to a degree), 4 year schools leading to a degree (e.g. school of medicine) and academies (e.g. art academy). After higher studies, one can specialize over 3 years or obtain a Master's degree [magisterium] in 2 years.

Of special interest to us was the problem of teachers' education. The kindergarten and elementary school teachers are educated in pedagogical academies which operate as 2-year higher studies. The secondary school teachers are prepared by 4-year schools but the technical school teachers obtain vocational, specialized education without training in psychology and pedagogics. In preparation is a reformed concept of teachers' training which would assure that all choosing this profession obtain pedagogic preparation.

At this time, the process of getting ready for reforms is under way. The decision to implement a reform was taken at the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1974. The reform interests the whole society who joined the general discussion of the proposed changes.

What can be said about the reform's premises in general? Above all, the future school system must be very well adjusted to the peculiarities of Yugoslav peoples and to the particular socialist model which is being built here.

The reform should reflect the ongoing political, economic, cultural and social changes. The main objective of the reformed school system will be the best possible preparation of graduates for professional work. A preparation which will consider fully and without delay the changes brought forth by the scientific and technical revolution.

It is assumed that the school system ought to prepare good producers. But that is not all. It is just as essential a task to prepare graduates who will be able to participate actively in building the special Yugoslav socialist model.

Further tasks which school must accomplish are the preparation for life in the society and in the family and development of the ability to use leisure time. Also essential is to prepare the youth to live their own creative life.

It was said that the school reforms introduced in Yugoslavia to date have been of partial character. The planned reform is to embrace all essential fields of school education. It is to be based on the ideological, party-oriented education of youth.

The practical plans are as follows. It is planned to expand kindergartens and to tie them more closely to schools, especially with respect to the spirit of education. The point is to assure the complete, physical and intellectual, development of all children.

The elementary school education will be extended by 2 years and the 9th and 10th grades will provide a general type education. That is, similar to what we have, it will be a 10-year school providing general education, while simultaneously leading to the selection of a career. The leading will be done by an appropriate selection of teaching contents.

The objective will be that at least 98 percent of those completing the 8th grade will continue the education in the 9th and 10th grades.

Trade training after the 10-year school will be differentiated: it will last between 6 months and 3 years. Depending on the needs and the resources, it will be conducted in independent classes or in schools.

The youth will be directed to trade schools depending on social needs and the youth abilities and attitudes.

Some of the youth will start higher studies immediately after completing the 10-year school. The candidates for higher studies will have the right in the 10-year school to select and participate in additional studies in accordance with the type of higher studies which they plan to pursue. Some of the graduates who start working will also have an opportunity for advanced studies. It will be made possible for the employers to direct their employees to higher studies and provide special

scholarships in accordance with the needs of the enterprise and of the national economy. After completing their studies, the scholarship winners will return to their place of employment.

It is planned that the enterprises will cooperate closely in the selection process for higher studies. Trade unions will also help. The point is to make the educational process very responsive and enable it to react immediately to the needs of national economy.

While discussing the reform plan, a lot of attention is devoted now to the problems of forecasting, to the search for best solutions and for the answers to such questions as: in what way and to what extent there should be changes in the contents of the curricula and how to solve the organization of 10-year schools in small towns and in villages.

It is well known that it is essential to coordinate closely the plans for development of national education with the national development plans. The programmatic assumptions are widely discussed with the society.

It is postulated that the contents of the curricula will emphasize the development of the thought process and the ability for self education and for active participation in the continuing education system. Similar to what we do, great importance is attached to the development of continuing education, to the steady increase of qualifications and the widening of knowledge. On the other hand, in accordance with the wishes of parents, the contents of the curricula should be so selected as to decrease the currently excessive burden of school work on the students.

This is just a small part of the very rich informational material provided by the hosts. That material was illustrated by visits to schools and conversations with directors and teachers. We will return to the problems of the Yugoslav education and school system.

At the invitation of the Educational Journals Section of the Committee of the Labor Union of Social Workers of Yugoslavia, an eight person delegation of editors of the periodicals of the Polish Teachers' Union visited Yugoslavia from 19 to 28 September of this year. The delegation was led by Franciszek Filipowicz, editor-in-chief of the KALENDARZ NAUCZYCIELSKI (Teachers' Calendar), member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Polish Teachers' Union. The members of the delegation were: Stanislaw Grzesniak, editor-in-chief of the bimonthly NAUCZYCIEL I WYCHOWANIE (The Teacher and Education); Andrzej Kawka, editor-in-chief of the monthly SZKOLA ZAWODOWA (The Trade School); Ewa Pajaczkowska, director of the publication MATERIALY METODYCZNE DLA NAUCZYCIELI JEZYKA POLSKIEGO (Methodological Materials for Teachers of Polish Language); Mieczyslaw Puto, Secretary of the bimonthly RUCH PEDAGOGICZNY (The Pedagogic News); Alicja Racewicz, editor of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI (The Teacher's Voice); Stefan Radomski, director for the library and publishing matters of the Central Committee of the Polish Teachers' Union; Prof Dr Ryszard Wroczynski,

editor-in-chief of the quarterly PRZEGLAD HISTORYCZNO-OSWIATOWY (The Historical-Educational Review).

The hosts were: the Secretary of the Committee of the Labor Union of Social Workers, Vasko Raicevic and the editors of educational periodicals from the individual republics: Nikola Nikic, director and editor-in-chief of PROSVJETNI LIST, Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, chairman of the association of teachers' journals of the autonomous republics of Yugoslavia; Miso Brajovic, editor-in-chief of PROSVJETNI RAD in Titograd, Republic of Montenegro and director of the Institute for Teachers' Education in Titograd; Djordje Djuric, director and editor-in-chief of SKOLSKE NOVINE in Zagreb, Republic of Croatia; Nikola Dimitrov, reporter of PROSVETEN RABOTNIK in Skoplje, Republic of Macedonia; Tea Dominko, editor of PROSVETNI DELAVEC in Ljubljana, Republic of Slovenia; Bojko Kirandzijski, reporter of PROSVETNY RABOTNIK in Skoplje; Stijepo Mijovic Kocan, editor of SKOLSKE NOVINE in Zagreb; Neza Maurer, director and editor-in-chief of PROSVETNI DELAVEC in Ljubljana; Rozica Petrovic, director and editor-inchief of PROSVETNI PREGLED in Belgrade and Vesna Sakota, editor of PROSVETNI LIST in Sarajevo.

During working sessions several papers were presented which were subsequently discussed in depth. Editor Nikola Nikic talked about the role of pedagogical periodicals in the development of education and training. Kresimir Bezic, professor of the Pedagogical Academy in Rijeka and the chairman of the Committee of the Union of Educational and Scientific Workers of the Republic of Croatia and Prof Dr Bero Simles, lecturer at the Socio-Philosophical Department of the University of Zagreb talked about the reform of the educational system which is being prepared and about the organization of self-management in the field of education and training in the Yugoslav school system. The essential tasks of the reform of the national educational system in Poland were presented by Dr Franciszek Filipowicz and certain problems of teacher training and further education in Poland were presented by Stanislaw Grzesniak.

Meetings also took place with the union activists in Zagreb, the editorial team of the SKOLSKE NOVINE and the chairman of the commune in Crikvenica, Vinko Smojver.

Additionally, the Polish delegation visited several schools and kinder-gartens in Belgrade, Rijeka and Zagreb.

Romanian 'Humanism Through Work' Questioned

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 5 Dec 76 pp 6-7

[Article by Alicja Racewicz: "Humanism Through Work Being Implemented"]

[Text] At the beginning, a brief reminder about the Romanian school system currently in force. General school (scoala generala) lasts 8 years.

The first level of secondary schooling, meaning the 10-year schools, has already become widespread (i.e. science and humanities high schools and specialized, meaning trade, high schools). The graduates of 10 year schools, of both the sciences and humanities high schools and of the specialized schools, receive, in addition to general education, the training to become skilled workers and then, depending on their attitude, abilities and desires, they may continue their studies in the 12-year schools which give the diploma and the right to apply for higher education as well as another trade, or they may go to work immediately.

In all schools great emphasis is placed on the preparation of students for work, on giving them definite work skills and on preparing the youth for adult life. I had an opportunity to convince myself that the schools have a wide variety of means to accomplish this task successfully.

Above all, I was interested in the problems related to education of youth through work. I talked about this subject in a few schools which I had the opportunity to visit, I saw workrooms, workshops and products of students' work. This was also the subject of my conversation with the superintendent of schools in Bucharest, C. Pelinescu.

The superintendent emphasized that education through work really starts in kindergarten. Of course, only certain elements of this education are conducted in the form of play. Thus, we furnish kindergartens with suitable toys, we organize little corners where the work tools are located and we use special games thanks to which the children learn the elements of work. We are getting them used to taking care of themselves and to keeping order and we train them to be "little handymen." Thanks to this, the children enter school with certain habits and skills.

In the lower grades, 1st through 4th, 1 hour a week is devoted to education through work. It is implemented in accordance with a program set by the Ministry of Education. This consists chiefly of manual work (using paper and clay) and extends to simple objects made of wood and sewing doll dresses.

For the last 2 years efforts have been made to hold these activities in specially organized small workshops rather than in regular classrooms. Sixty out of 200 schools in Bucharest already have such mini-workshops. The equipment and furniture are made by higher class students; the superintendent's office purchases the equipment from the students to equip the workshops.

There are certain difficulties with finding the required number of teachers who are fully qualified to conduct practical technical activities in the lower grades. Help is provided by master craftsmen who conduct the activities in the higher grades and who also provide additional instruction to the teachers.

In the 5th and 6th grades there are 2 hours of workshop a week, in the 7th grade—3 hours and in the 8th—4 hours. In those grades the workshop is of specialized character. Thus, in the 5th and 6th grades it is working with wood, in the 7th it is metalforming and in the 8th it is electrical work.

And the girls? From the 5th grade they engage in sewing, embroidering, knitting and cooking and from the 6th grade they may chose workshop in metalforming and electrical work.

In the 5th and 6th grades the students do not yet do productive work, but starting in the 7th grade they do. The products are simple metal objects, children's underwear, sheets, embroidery and uncomplicated items for enterprises.

The 8-year schools do not have production plans but they can boast about quite impressive results. Last year, 200 Bucharest schools produced goods for the not inconsiderable sum of 7 million lei. They produced useful items in demand on the market. This is so because the superintendent's office runs two stores in the commercial center of Bucharest where the students' products are sold. These stores do not complain about a lack of customers.

In the 9th and 10th grades and in the science and humanities high schools, the production quotas are already in force.

Recently a new feature was introduced: the productive activities are concentrated, they take place at the rate of 1 week per month (6 hours per day); the remaining weeks are devoted to theoretical teaching. During a year the students of those grades have 9 weeks of productive, practical activities directed by the master instructors. Those masters are employed by the superintendent's office.

This year, the production plan for the Bucharest high schools has been set at 150 million lei; the science and humanities high schools will perform work worth 36 million lei (there are 28 such schools) and the balance will be produced by the specialized high schools.

On what basis are the plans and composition of production determined? First of all, the superintendent's office decides in which trades the youth should be trained on the basis of research into the demand of productive plants in Bucharest for skilled workers. Automatically, the content and the size of production is decided by this demand. The majority of work performed by the students in workshops fits into the production plans of plants sponsoring the schools. It should be added here that each high school cooperates with a plant.

The students produce many things for their own schools. This is a, so called, "action of auto-donation." Those products are pieces of furniture, quite complicated laboratory and workroom equipment and decorative items for the school.

It is worth emphasizing that the students are themselves responsible for the quality of their work, they do their own quality control. And the teachers assure that the production is good. An important role is performed by the youth organization; during its meetings, the organization of work and its quality are analyzed and discussed. My hosts stated that as a result the youth also learn leadership, organization of work and self-control.

Where do the schools obtain the raw materials for production and the workshop equipment? The majority is bought with the money provided by the budget of the superintendent's office and with the money obtained by the school from its own production, which is totally at the school's disposal. The plants for which the schools produce parts, complete items and other things also help; they supply machines and raw materials. For the plants it is a paying proposition by any standard, our informants assure us, first of all because we are training cadres of skilled workers for them and second, because the school products are cheaper in relation to the prices which would be dictated by other suppliers.

The productive training culminates in a qualifying examination which has to be passed by each student at the end of schooling in the 10th grade. This examination is conducted by a special commission composed of representatives of the plants and, of course, of teachers. After passing the examination, each graduate receives a certificate showing the specialization in which the qualifications were obtained; if he does not continue his studies, this certificate permits the graduate to start working in his speciality.

In each school which I looked up, I found students doing productive work. This was a familiar sight in trade schools but it was a novelty in the college preparatory schools and in the 8-year schools, especially to such an extent.

I saw the Construction High School in Cimpulung-Moldova, the Lumber Industry High School in Suceavie and the Textile Industry High School in Bucharest; all these schools were almost production plants. And characteristically, all of them produced a lot for their own needs. Understandably, the high school in Sucavie equipped the school and the school boarding house with utility items, furniture, laboratory tables, wardrobes and language laboratory cubicles. It is a modern school with well equipped workshops. Within the framework of after-hours work, the students produce beautifully carved items and stylized pieces of furniture which win numerous prizes at inter-school competitions.

Over 2,800 students attend the Textile Industry High School No 6 in Bucharest. The workshops there resemble modern production areas in industrial plants. The production cycle starts with making thread and ends with sewing finished garments. The school also teaches mechanical specialization. As one of the deputy directors, Maria Benjaminow said, the

school wishes to educate graduates who are fully prepared for life, for work in a collective, used to the work routine and at the same time capable of using their leisure time well. Of course, they have to be also very well trained in their trade and able to adjust easily to their work.

The trade schools which I visited had very good conditions to accomplish these tasks.

Naturally, I was most interested in how the preparation for work and education through work look in the college preparatory schools.

The Science and Humanities High School No 11 in Bucharest has very good housing conditions: 10 classrooms, 5 laboratories and 1 workshop for learning six kinds of practical work skills. There are 15 classes for science students and 5 for humanities students for a total of 750 students. There are also 31 classes of night high school for over 1,200 students.

Because this is a science and humanities high school, says the director, Vasile Velican, we have a high dose of theoretical classes. And because the school is supposed to prepare at the same time for life and work, we apply the theory learned to practice without delay.

The students are between 16 and 20 years old. Education through work and for work is carried out primarily in the school workshop. It should be added, this is done in large, modern and well equipped workshops. The principal also emphasized that the stress is placed primarily on preparation for work, not on production.

In addition to general education, the students also obtain a trade: that of a locksmith or a tailor and starting this academic year also that of a milling machine operator, a lathe operator, an electrical technician and a welder. Within the framework of learning the trade under the guidance of master craftsmen, the students do some production too. Three weeks a month there are theoretical classes and for 1 week they study a trade combined with production work.

The school determined that it has the capability to do production work worth 1.5 million lei annually. What production? Initially, it was the simplest production: nailing of tool boxes. Currently, it is becoming more complex and specialized: door locks and various items for which requirements are submitted by the parent production plant and other enterprises in the area. The girls embroider curtains with folk designs; they look beautiful in the school windows, and they are also prepared for sale. The girls sew sheets, dish towels and clothing for the pupils of the children's home.

The majority of the graduates of this high school try to continue their studies and it should be said that 60 to 80 percent do so.

The youth work a lot for the neighborhood and its beautification; they take care of a park nearby and participate in the potato harvest. These actions are initiated by the youth organization and are carried out after school hours.

And still another school. The 8-year Scoala Generala No 88 in Bucharest has 1,730 students in 47 classes. The school is well taken care of: plenty of tasteful, good metal sculpture; in glass covered display cases beautifully embroidered table cloth and napkins; finely sculptured wooden boxes and prettily framed mirrors. All this is the work of our students, says the director, Elena Ciurea. Including the display cases and the mirror in the elaborate frame which you admired in the staircase, and the chandeliers too.

I cannot restrain my admiration since the creators are 13, 14 or 15 years old. Later on, in the workshop, I admire how well they handle the file and the chisel and how, from the skillful fingers of the girls, rich embroidery emerges; I look at the pretty little dresses which they have just finished.

"I did not learn how to sew or embroider at home," one of the girls tells me, "I learned in school. I do not think I will use this as my trade, I wish to continue my studies but certainly these skills will come in handy in life."

Technical education as a subject was introduced in this school about 10 years ago. At first, the workshops were very modest but from year to year they became ever richer thanks to the companies sponsoring the school. At this time, they have at their disposal all the necessary tools, machines and equipment. Overall, the school has modern furnishings and is well supplied with teaching aides.

In grades 1 through 4 there are 24 hours of classes plus 1 hour workshop per week, in the 5th grade there are 27 hours plus 2, respectively, in the 6th--28 plus 2, in the 7th--32 plus 3 and in the 8th--32 plus 4.

It should be added that the occupational pre-orientation is conducted here from the 1st grade. The teachers try to get to know their students as well as they can, including their interests, abilities and attitudes. Then, in collaboration with the polyclinic, which is responsible for the school youth, the teachers try to direct properly the graduates' choice of the high school and their future trade.

During my conversations in schools I expressed my doubts several times whether so widely developed system of practical and trade education and the production activities are not implemented at the expense of general preparation. Does not it cause certain dehumanization of the youth?

The hosts contradicted me in unison. We want to prepare our youth for life and for work the best we can, they said. The programs include a

sufficient amount of theory and general education. They are supplemented by the work of special interest circles and there are classes with enlarged programs in individual subjects. All the school educational work not only aims at preparing a good worker but also a cultured man with broad interests. And we implement humanism precisely through work.

8801

CSO: 2600

### BRIEFS

EUROPEAN PEACE FORUM--At a 2-day conference in East Berlin the international negotiating committee of the BK (Berlin Conference of Catholic Christians from European Countries) decided on a program of action for 1977, which consists of both self-initiated projects and those to be undertaken with other peace movements. Details were explained by members of the negotiating committee from the CSSR, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, France, Italy, Portugal and Britain. Otto-Hartmut Fuchs, chairman of the presidium, commented that the focal point of the BK's work currently comprised three problems: the continuation of the detente policy, the termination of the arms race, and increased solidarity. Fuchs stated that it was not surprising that a campaign by opponents of detente was taking place, more or less as atmospheric preparation for Belgrade [CSCE], with the goal of accusing the socialist countries of complications and negligence. According to Dr Yves Grent (France) and Dr Umberto Zappulli (Italy), the BK disassociated itself from such attempts and, irrespective of all difference of opinion, took the view that the agreements made in Helsinki are an indivisible whole and must be realized as such. [Excerpt] [East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 28 Jan 77 p 2]

CSO: 2300

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONTROL COMMISSIONS' ROLE IN CPCZ CONGRESS GOALS DESCRIBED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 77 p 3

[Article by Milos Jakes, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission: "Special Mission of the CPCZ Control and Audit Commissions—Sustained Assistance for Consistent Implementation of 15th CPCZ Congress Conclusions"]

[Text] Control activity is source of progressive and positive movement; universal application of Lenin style of work; increased efforts to consistently comply with statutes, discharge high demands and responsibility in all sectors of party work.

The historic development of socialism has convincingly shown how important it is to respect all legal aspects of its construction. This applies even at the present time when socio-economic processes working within our socialist society are changing in many ways, not only in regard to content and formal aspects but with respect to the dynamics of its movement. This fact also places new demands on the quality of management. Efficiency, high quality of work, economy, application of scientific knowledge in production, socialist integration, consistent and universal application of scientific methods of management—these are frequently used terms which go with the times. They are not, however, to be taken as mere illustrations, but primarily as expressions of the essence of current needs and interests of our society as it proceeds through the stages of building developed socialism.

We are constantly setting up higher goals. The program of the 15th congress is clear proof of this. It does not suffice to merely have plans, to merely want things. In order to successfully fulfill every concept it is necessary to know the exact initial conditions, the actual practices. But we must also take into consideration that all facts and data changes in accordance with the course of the actual fulfillment of the planned goal. This calls for constant checking, controlling, comparing, scrutinizing and assessing the efficiency and rationality of every work and action. A good manager

also ponders, when a project is finally completed, to what extent in practice he fulfilled his expectations and the projected goals.

Such an approach inevitably calls for consistent control and records in order to systematically compare concepts with practical results. The intent of control activity can be summarized as an effort "not to be satisfied with what we can do, what we learned earlier, but to go on, come what may, to make greater and greater demands, come what may, to proceed unconditionally from easier tasks to more difficult ones. Otherwise no progress at all is possible, certainly no progress is possible in socialist construction." (V. I. Lenin, "Writings," Vol 28, page 193)

The construction of a socialist society carries with it the objective requirement for intensifying the leading role of the communist party. The ongoing scientific-technical revolution is very definitely projected in the acceleration of the socio-economic movement of socialist society. Newly emerging conditions have their impact also on the challenges imposed on the functioning and role of the communist party in society. In practice, this means improving the quality not only of its ideological, political and organizing functions but also its control function.

If we place emphasis on the control function of the party this in no case signifies a onesided and self-serving emphasis. On the contrary, it means being dialectically in agreement with the others. This presumes control activity which is capable of being in its way the source of progressive and positive movement, within the party itself as well as in the socialist community. Control makes possible a critical view of the results of work, the methods used, making it possible to generalize good experiences, overcome deficiencies and anticipate them; it is a defense against unhealthy complacency, a precondition for correct evaluation of management cadres, the efforts of individuals, work collectives and the results achieved.

## Control an Integral Part of Management

The conclusions of the 15th party congress are very demanding in all areas of the life of our society. Naturally, tasks of the economy, which is the source and basis of all social life, are given priority in all congress documents. Moreover, many years' experience has convincingly demonstrated that a condition for successful development of the socialist economy is the proper functioning of the party which requires that no aspect of its activity be neglected. Therefore, if the CPCZ is to properly fulfill its leading role in society, on a level with the demands of the times, as a whole and in all sectors of its activity, the work of all its organs and organizations must contribute to this, as well as the control and audit commissions.

Control activity is an integral part of all management work. It is also an indispensable condition for implementing the leading role of the party in society. In this connection it was stated at the 15th CPCZ Congress that, "raising the level of party work, expanding criticism and challenges, improving the membership base, improving training and cadre work, raising the

effectiveness of informational, program, implementation and control activity, effective mass political work—these are the ways to intensify the leading role of the party in our society. That is also the substance of the permanent goal of all communists—their concern for the unity of the party." The responsibility of control, checking every task, its results, compliance with resolutions, regulations and all norms that govern our society, is and must be an organic part of the activity of every communist, every party organization and party organ and especially of every management worker.

The party management organs themselves have a decisive role in control activity. This is because of their position in the party, the functions that they perform. An example is the approach of the CPCZ Central Committee which regularly checks on fulfillment of the resolutions of the 15th congress. Also important is the role of the CPCZ control and audit commissions whose activity was evaluated by the 15th CPCZ Congress. This evaluation is a pledge of continued improvement of our work. Their activity is based on the party statutes and directives for the activity of control and audit commissions of the CPCZ. These documents have a universal and longterm validity. Their application then runs through the specific conditions of social practices. The basic subject document for activity of control and audit commissions is in timely materials of the 15th CPCZ Congress whose strategic line the commissions are obligated to help realize as their first priority task.

The basic requirement for fulfilling the 15th CPCZ Congress conclusions is a unified party capable of taking action. In this stage its leading role is constantly growing, demands on the work of all communists is increasing, on their maturity, on the ability of every party organ and organization of the communist party to consistently carry out its leading role and to unite under its leadership the working masses, to enlist them in the party program and thus put it into effect. A decisive factor affecting the success of the CPCZ policy is the situation within the party, the proper functioning of all elements, the consistent application and observation of all the principles and norms of construction as well as activity of the party by all communists without exception.

On Permanent Commitment of Every Communist

The CPCZ control and audit commissions have an important role in this field. In conformance with their position their activity is directed toward helping achieve consistent application of the statutes, reinforcing party discipline and stimulating activity and commitment on the part of every party member and candidate in order to constantly intensify their communist consciousness, the consciousness of their great responsibility for fulfilling all the tasks of the CPCZ for building socialism.

Successful realization of the leading role of the party in society also requires "bearing in mind the honor of the party, its untarnished shield," as was declared by Comrade G. Husak at the 15th congress. Communists must set examples in work, in discussions, in all life. They must be confirmed, active fighters for the policy of the party. The party cannot tolerate in its ranks those who do not fulfill their working responsibility, who grossly violate its statutes and misuse their membership card to their own advantage and career goals and thus damage the name and authority of the party. Concern about the reputation of the party, concern that communists fulfill all their obligations -- this is one of the permanent and basic tasks of party organs and organizations. The control and audit commissions are effectively helping them in these endeavors and will continue to help them. That is why, even after the 15th congress, their activity must be directed primarily on how the party statutes are being observed and to what extent and in what manner resolutions of party organs are being applied in practice. In this connection it is necessary to emphasize that the 15th congress called attention to an urgent need--to remove from party work everything that weakens and impairs the activity of party organs and organizations. Any manifestations of formalism, stereotypes, bureaucratism, opportunism, complacency, incompetence, all this must be eliminated from party practices. Experience shows that the causes of the above-mentioned manifestations can vary greatly according to circumstances. But in each case it is necessary to direct control activity toward discovery of the specific causes and their perpetrators and take all necessary measures with them or even against them to make proper correction.

The social mission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and intensification of its leading role place great demands on improving the social and age composition of the party and increasing the participation of women. Therefore, it is necessary that, in keeping with the growing demands on party work, party organs and organizations concentrate even more consistently on the quality of accepted candidates in the matter of their work results, social commitments and political-moral qualities. The resolution of the June 1976 session of the CPCZ Central Committee stated on this subject that, "a responsible selection of persons for party membership, universal concern about the training and preparation of communists, especially candidates and young party members, and their purposeful involvement in practical political life are among the foremost goals of all party organs and organizations."

Improving the Membership Base--a Permanent Task

There is a direct link and dialectic unity between high quality work of the party, a high quality cadre base and a high quality membership base of the CPCZ. The mutual influencing and interdependence of these three factors are quite evident. The June 1976 session of the CPCZ Central Committee emphasized that the new situation in the party resulting from the rapid entry into its ranks of young people demands placing emphasis on the quality of young candidates, on improving and intensifying overall work with them and their training in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. An important conclusion of this session of the CPCZ Central Committee is also orientation of the party toward raising the quality of the

membership base in big industrial plants, and in the long run in all positions and sectors of the national economy where the influence of the party needs strengthening.

Checking the fulfillment of this resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee, the quality and training of new members and candidates will thus be among the prime concerns of the control and audit commissions in the ensuing period.

Documents of the 15th congress emphasize the need for constant intensification of the Lenin-style work in all areas of party activity. Observing the principles of democratic centralism, internal party democracy, a fundamental and creative approach to the resolution of problems, firmness, elimination of subjectivism and formalism, these are permanent tasks which every communist is obligated to pursue for the party.

When we speak of Lenin-style work we must not overlook such requirements as a scientific and comprehensive approach to the evaluation and criticism of social processes and a fundamental cadre policy. The development of criticism and self-criticism is very important as an effective tool for constant improvement of party work. Likewise, we must not allow, as the lessons of the crisis period remind us, any evidence of opportunism, neglect of ideological work and indifference to extraneous ideological influences. The application of Lenin-style work must become more and more manifest. In the long run, this also applies to work with the resolutions. we must make consistent control of the fulfillment of the resolutions the center of attention not only of management party organs but through the same approach toward work based on the resolutions in the activity of every basic organization and of every party member. Therefore, the control and audit commissions, by checking compliance with the statutes and the application of Lenin's norms, should continue to contribute to the implementation of the Lenin-style work.

Our party has always devoted considerable attention to cadre policy and it was the same at the 15th congress. In its resolutions it emphasized that in view of the growing tasks of economic construction and the development of society it is necessary in the forthcoming period to demand more of the political and professional maturity and preparation of leading workers, their moral qualities, their ability to lead collectives, develop creatively and consistently vitalize party policy. By their activities the commissions should, even following the 15th congress, help in the consistent implementation of the congress conclusions as well as the CPCZ Presidium resolutions of 1970 on cadre and personnel work.

When we refer to the tasks of control and audit commissions in implementing party policy after the 15th congress we must not overlook their part in improving work with letters from workers. It is necessary to see to it that no suggestion or warning be forgotten. Working with letters from workers must be understood as one of the most important forms of linking the party with the masses and of developing socialist democracy. If these letters are on the increase it also testifies to the growing social activity of the people. This is very valuable capital which must not be dissipated. Therefore, it is necessary, together with managing party organs, through controls, to see that appropriate party organs and organizations lead communists in state, economic and social organizations toward consistent handling and utilization of workers' letters.

# Efficiency and High Quality--Decisive Criteria

Successful party work is to a considerable extent dependent on the party administration for its material security and necessary standards. It is a matter of concern that paperwork not become ensconced in the party and that material resources be properly used to take care of the political and organizational tasks of the party through good management and efficiency. One of the basic obligations of membership in the party is payment of party dues. In spite of the fact that good results have been achieved in this area it is necessary to see to it that they are paid from overall income. Also it is necessary to pay more attention to party membership cards.

In the past auditing of payment of membership dues, efficient management and control of party administration and consistent recording of resolutions contributed to the fact that the 15th congress was able to declare improvement of this activity. It is necessary to continue in this course even after the 15th CPCZ Congress.

If we analyze the contents of the congress documents it is necessary to emphasize that the commissions must, to a considerable extent, focus their control activity on specific and effective help to directing organs of the party in the solution of tasks and fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. In practice, this means, together with action of these organs, to systematically and in a planned manner check the activity of communists--management workers--as well as basic party organizations, how they are fulfilling the economic and social policy of the CPCZ in their places of work, especially in sectors of the Czechoslovak economy which were designated in the congress documents as supportive and key ones. At the same time it means that the 15th congress emphasized that it is absolutely necessary to follow not only the quantitative indicators but what and how we are producing and under what "For all branches of the national economy," it says in the congress documents, "for productive and nonproductive spheres it is a basic requirement to increase efficiency, productivity and the quality of work. To produce efficiently, to do high quality work, that is the order of the day, that is the prime requirement for fulfilling the Sixth Five-Year Plan

and for increasing the standard of living. Put concisely, this means extracting from every hour of work, from every ton of material and kilowatt hour of energy consumed, from every machine and every investment koruna expended the greatest possible return to society. It also means managing sensibly with foodstuffs and resources which we expend in all areas of the life of our society."

The attention of control and audit commissions of the CPCZ will, therefore, in keeping with the line prescribed by the 15th party congress, be directed toward assistance with efficient utilization of social resources and the discovery of reserves. In practice this means seeing not just numbers, volume units and such, but the actual people standing behind them, their capabilities, possibilities, ways and means of work, their grasp of reality, etc. Party organs and organizations as well as control and audit commissions must see all this in their work, analyze and understand it in the broader social perspective. This is one of the basic conditions for the successful implementation of the leading role of the party in society.

# Proper Exercise of Control Authority

In pursuing the direction of efficiency and quality of work proper exercise of control authority by party organizations is very important. Some observations of control show that implementing the right of control is often considered as merely submitting information about the fulfillment of economic tasks by leading workers. Often these contain general information with no analysis of problems in production. Often discussions of party organizations about these problems do not result in clear conclusions, do not explain what, specifically, should be done.

Therefore, control and audit commissions are expected to check on how party organs and organizations exercise their control authority on the basis of party statutes. The purpose of this check will contribute to increasing the control function of the party in the area of the economy, in pursuit of societywide interests, higher efficiency and quality of all kinds of work, toward an active and uncompromising struggle against deficiencies, inconsistency and complacency as required by the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. The effectiveness of control authority extends to member meetings where it is exercised and not only in committees. Such an approach contributes toward linking party work with specific goals of the economy, it helps management workers, it acts to prevent words from being at variance with actions. Experience proves that good results follow from consistently applied supervision.

The 15th CPCZ Congress placed emphasis on the need for constant improvement in the methods of work of party as well as state organs, overcoming everything that is out-of-date in their activity, the application of new, effective methods of work which meet the needs of our present and future development and utilization of the experiences of our fraternal parties, especially

the CPSU. The 15th congress also drew attention to the importance of improving and intensifying the role of control. Injecting these general requirements into the specific conditions of the activity of control and audit commissions means further raising the quality of their work. To this end it is necessary to systematically raise the political as well as professional standards of members and workers of the control and audit commissions as well as their activists and be concerned about the thorough preparation of controls carried out.

Effective help of control and audit commissions in carrying out the policy of the party is based, besides on consistent application of the Lenin style of work in activity of the commissions, also on selecting major and critical aspects of the life of the party which are to be the subjects of control. An important principle in preparing the plan of work is its quantitative aspect. The number of planned actions should follow the principle that every task must be taken care of properly and to the fullest extent. Here, too, it is true that, "less but better means more."

Experience shows that plans of work of the commissions cannot be merely a summary of controls and audits without any further explanation of their intent. Therefore, proper attention must be given to seeing that every action that is included in the work plan has a clear purpose and a broader social or other context.

A requirement for intensifying the quality and effectiveness of the work of control and audit commissions in carrying out the tasks of the 15th CPCZ Congress is close cooperation with other party as well as state organs and institutions, especially committees of people's control. Also cooperation between lower and higher levels of control and audit commissions will prove useful. It is especially necessary to further develop the activity of plantwide, local and town control and audit commissions.

According to a resolution of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, membership meetings of basic CPCZ organizations will take place in January and February 1977 with a uniform agenda. The deliberations at these meetings are to be directed primarily to strict checking of the results achieved so far in the work of party organizations and communists in individual sectors in fulfilling the tasks of the 15th CPCZ Congress. The CPCZ Central Committee requires that all sectors of party work and all organizations strongly foster an atmosphere of high expectations, responsibility, a critical and self-critical approach to evaluating work accomplished, an active resolution of problems and a vigorous and fundamental elimination of any deficiencies or weaknesses that manifest themselves. No less important is the task of discussing and determining the procedures and plans of work of party organizations to carry out the political, economic and ideological tasks in 1977. The control and audit commissions will also take part in conducting these meetings.

The work that awaits all control and audit commissions will not be easy but demanding on the skill and knowledge of the people who perform it. It is important that the activity of the commissions further help promote the consistent application of the statutes, high demands and responsibility and help overcome formalism and deficiencies. It is important that carrying out control actions and audits not be considered something unusual but become an integral part of party work, that party organs and organizations regularly check on fulfillment of resolutions adopted, eliminate existing shortcomings and call to account those who shirk their responsibilities. It is also important that results of the activity of all control organs be utilized more in management and thus support their activity and authority.

We have entered a challenging period, one in which mere general praise and general criticism do not suffice. We will inevitably be meeting with a number of problems and shortcomings in the pursuit of fulfillment of the tasks of the 15th congress. Overcoming them will call for a fundamental communist approach.

The control and audit commissions, by constant improvement and intensification of their activity will, as in the past in carrying out the conclusions of the 14th congress, actively contribute to implementation of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

8491

CSO: 2400

CSR JUSTICE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON CZECHOSLOVAK JURIDICAL SYSTEM

Prague TVORBA in Czech 15 Dec 76 p 5

[Interview with CSR Justice Minister JUDr Jan Nemec by Dana Spackova]

[Text] [Question] The courts form an important part of our state apparatus. What are their tasks, Comrade Minister, and how do they differ from those of bourgeois courts?

[Answer] If I am to speak on the tasks of the courts then the most fitting and shortest thing to do will be to cite the wording of the law on the organization of the courts and the election of judges: The courts are charged with the defense of the socialist state, its social institutions and its relations with the world socialist system, the political, personal, family, social, property, housing and other rights and interests of citizens protected by the law, the lawful rights and interests of cooperative and other social and economic organizations and finally the combat readiness of the armed forces and armed bodies and the discipline and order prevailing in them. These are the basic tasks stipulated by the law; they encompass all activities of the courts of all levels.

And what are the tasks of our courts compared to bourgeois courts? I think I can answer this question from three basic viewpoints.

Generally the courts of the socialist state, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, differ from the courts of a bourgeois republic by their class composition both with respect to professional and lay judges; they are selected from among citizens loyal to our social system who possess the necessary qualification (in the case of professional judges) and experience of life (in the case of lay judges) and who are all firmly committed to the positions of the socialist state. Therefore, the basic difference is that bourgeois courts are an instrument of oppression of the broad masses of people, the majority of the population. In contrast, the courts in the socialist state system are an instrument for building a socialist society and protecting the rights and interests of the citizens of this society. This orientation of the activities of the courts follows also from their use of the new socialist

law, which is an important means for consolidating and improving the socialist society. Another difference in my opinion exists in the method of work. In the bourgeois society courts in the penal sector have a decidedly suppressive and repressive role meting out punishment, while in the socialist society coercion is only a part but not the sole and main activity of the courts. This is so because the law also aims for prevention and the reeducation of persons quilty of a punishable offence and education as part of the activity of all courts. Of course, the preventive and reeducational function of the courts is connected with the repressive one, and their proportion changes in some stages; this will depend on the given situation in society--for example in the years of the crisis period the repressive aspect had to be stressed and manifestations of liberalization in the courts, entrenched in the sixties, fought. On the other hand the successes achieved in the development of our society noted by the 14th and especially by the 15th party congresses and the security of our society permit the application of the law in different proportions, laying greater stress on the reeducational and preventive functions of the courts.

[Question] The socialist legal system is frequently characterized—among other things—by the participation of working people in its implementation. How does court practice reflect this fact?

[Answer] Essentially in three forms.

First it is the already mentioned participation of lay judges in criminal and civil proceedings before courts of the first instance. This means that there are almost 20,000 lay judges in the Czech Socialist Republic elected by the national committees who participate in deciding legal matters. They are people with years of active and creative work behind them. But a certain part of lay judges are also able and thoughtful young people.

Second is the participation of social organizations—worker collectives—in court proceedings. In criminal proceedings the legal code permits the cooperation of trade union, youth and cooperative unified agricultural and production organizations which can offer to assume responsibility either for reforming the accused or for completing the reformation of a sentenced individual and send public defenders or prosecutors to the main trial. The degree of participation of social organizations is now expressed by approximately 1,500 guarantee offers to courts by social organizations. Acceptance of the guarantee makes it possible to impose a sentence which does not involve loss of freedom for the accused. In the case of individuals serving a sentence the application of the social guarantee can for example lead to a decision to release the prisoner conditionally because the social organization undertakes to exert an educational influence on the sentenced individual to keep him from further criminal activity.

Then mention must be made of the participation of national committees and social organizations which can intervene administratively in civil court proceedings; the national committee even has the right to propose the

initiation of such proceedings. By participating in the proceedings social organizations and national committees defend the public interest and contribute by their involvement to the determination of the true facts as the basis for a court decision.

The participation of social organizations and national committees in the work of the courts is extremely broad; it aims especially at an intensification of the educational function of the court proceeding and thereby at the prevention of criminal activity and all antisocial manifestations.

[Question] Is there an interest in participating in court proceedings?

[Answer] Yes, there is an interest but sometimes the granting of a social guarantee is used as an excuse. Simply to help the individual at all costs —a friend, a coworker, even for example if his offence is so serious in nature that he faces severe punishment or that he has already been sentenced to a jail term. Of course, these are manifestations of friendly feelings but they render poor service to the sentenced individual. There are examples of collectives where nobody is interested in any wrongdoing or criminal activity but the moment somebody from their circle is being prosecuted or has been sentenced, especially to a stiff 2— or 3—year jail term, suddenly many undertake one action after another. All of a sudden an endeavor to help, a false solidarity becomes manifest. We know from practice that a collective is not always motivated by the endeavor to combine the role of public defender with all the obligations this entails and that in reality it is sometimes only a false endeavor to help at all costs, to influence or mitigate the court decision.

[Question] The task of the courts naturally entails also the broad area of combating punishable activities generally, be they crimes or felonies, or, as it is commonly called, to fight against criminal activity. How has criminal activity been developing in recent years, Comrade Minister?

[Answer] This question is not easy to answer. Criminal activity, as we know it, is something like an iceberg, one part of which protrudes above water and another part is submerged. The part above water is represented by criminal acts which were uncovered and where the culprit has been identified, and further by criminal acts which have become known but whose perpetrator has not been determined. This means that if I am to talk about criminal activity as the minister of justice I can talk only about the one part of the iceberg above water -- about criminals who have been identified, charged and sentenced. Such information and numbers understandably do not always reflect the true state of criminal activity; we may sentence fewer people than in the past year, but criminal activity may have increased because not all perpetrators have been punished--they were not found, not identified. This can be demonstrated by the example of an economic worker who is guilty of the crime of theft of property in socialist ownership and who perhaps has been engaged in this activity clandestinely for 5 years without being uncovered. Therefore, criminal activity exists but nobody knows

about it. Then it is discovered and the accused is brought to court. As for sentenced individuals I can reveal several interesting figures: both in 1971 and 1972 more than 80,000 individuals were sentenced, then their number decreased to 69,000 in 1975. Of course, we must not overlook the fact that amnesties were granted by the president of the republic in 1973 and 1975 and that a number of uncovered punishable offences were not prosecuted in courts at all.

In connection with criminal activity I wish to mention--even though only briefly--the problem of repeaters as one of the most serious phenomena affecting criminal activity. It is a fact that previously sentenced individuals frequently reappear in courts for newly committee criminal acts. overall number of accused contains more than one-third of them. This indicates that the previous criminal proceeding or even the serving of the sentence did not fulfill their objective or result in their reform. be said that in the case of repeaters the courts consistently implement their repressive function. Of course, in addition to punishment and its administration other forms of influence gradually begin to act aimed at completing the reeducation of the sentenced individuals after their release from jail. It is the purposeful use of the Institute for Protective Supervision (founded in 1973) and of all the means and methods of the so-called postpenitential care (i.e. care for persons released from jail.) Certain beneficial effects of this concentrated effort can be noted already at the present time. But to achieve a decisive change is not a question of a short time.

[Question] Opinions about the work of the courts can differ—an unprejudiced person who never had anything to do with their decisions naturally holds a different opinion from one sentenced who in any case will regard the sentence to be harsher than he would have thought or wished for. Can you tell us how you as minister of justice assess the work of the courts?

[Answer] In recent years we have had to face tasks which were not easy. After the crisis years the state of the juridical system was not good—the composition of its cadres was weakened and affected by the liberalization of the sixties and by all the upheavals during the crisis period; therefore the primary task was to eliminate liberalization, accelerate court proceedings and essentially strengthen the legality of court decisions. Today we are convinced that the decisions of our courts are just, even though half of the total number of judges have not been judges longer than 5 years and do not possess much experience. This is also confirmed by the fact that roughly 85 percent of the sentences are not appealed—where therefore the convicted individual accepts the verdict and admits that he was convicted justly. Also civil suits are being appealed only in 10 percent of cases. We can therefore be roughly satisfied with the quality of the court decisions, albeit not completely, because in the last resort nobody in any profession can be completely satisfied with the quality of his own work.

We base our work on the awareness that the resolutions of the 15th congress apply to us workers in the field of justice as they do to the other citizens of our state; we too must implement them, under more complicated conditions and more thoroughly. Because of the results brought about by the development of the society it is possible to view the tasks of the courts in a different light and context and aim, as already mentioned, much more at reeducation and prevention than at the repressive function of the courts. This reality also reflects the basic difference between the courts of the bourgeois and the socialist republic.

8664

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

## ADM VERNER CALLS FOR INCREASED MILITARY VIGILANCE

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German 13 Dec 76 pp 3, 5

[Article by Admiral Waldemar Verner, Member of the CP, Deputy Minister of National Defense, Chief of the Main Political Administration of the National People's Army: "The Protection of Our Republic Is Stable and Reliable"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The accomplishment of the members of the army and border troops since the Ninth Party Congress in the area of further raising combat strength and combat readiness confirm the assessment in the Politburo report that our socialist state has solid, stable and reliable protection. With pride in the successful balance sheet of our course, in the solidarity of the SED, the working class and all workers, in the fidelity to our socialist state, in the unshakeable confidence in the secure future of our republic at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, which is again clearly visible in the present plan documents, there is a stronger and stronger expression of the firm conviction by the members of the army and the border troops that they are fulfilling an honorable, patriotic and internationalist duty through the dependable, military protection of the GDR. Knowingly and with passionate devotion they defend a state in which under the leadership of the party, in step with loyal class brothers and friends, the people develop their lives according to the ideals of socialism and communism. They knowingly defend an efficient, crisis-free economy which also creates the material prerequisites for the defense of our country. They consciously defend scientific-technical achievements of international status, a flourishing intellectual-cultural life, the marvelous social program which is to be realized gradually, and the harmonious development of all spheres of life. Those are achievements of the political reign of the working class to which we intend to add news ones that we soldiers will allow to be attacked by no one and at no time.

Well-Trained Troops and Staffs

Member of the Politburo of the CP of the SED and Minister for National Defense, General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann recently at a conference of

commanders to evaluate the past training yearwas able to arrive at the assessment that the armed forces and border troops of our country have done justice to the expectations of the working class and its party, our workers and our allies. All command organs and units examined in the past year could be graded as "combat ready." They repeatedly proved their capability to reach a higher level of combat readiness at the right time and to manage successfully even under complicated conditions.

The rising level of political training, theoretically exacting and increasingly more intimately tied with the problems of military life, and the higher degree achieved in combat proximity, planning, organization and implementation of combat training in the units, formations and groups provided marked results. In this regard it turns out that the solid brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies is of decisive significance.

Especially the direct cooperation with the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the Baltic Red Flag Fleet assists our units in mastering all demands of the modern military system along the model of the Soviet armed forces. Commanders, politorgans, staffs and troops received high evaluations in numerous joint command staff and troop exercises at the side of their brothers-in-arms from the armies of the Warsaw Treaty.

Our soldiers see in the successful forward progress of the GDR and its armed forces the effect of the invincible power of the working class and all workers. In the semiannual inductions we perceive the great changes taking place in our youth, especially the growing political maturity, their moral qualities which are becoming stronger and their increased level of education. We get young people and from their ranks better and better cadres that have grown up under socialism, who are competent and willing to continue to guide and protect the great work of shaping the social society which has developed and the gradual transition to communism. That is in large measure a service of the systematic socialist military education being achieved under the direction of the party in the mass media, in the FDJ, in the FDGB, the GDR German Gymnastics and Sports Federation, in the Society for Sport and Technology, in the enterprises and institutions and not least in the educational institutions. The results of socialist military education are reflected with our soldiers in the harmony of word and deed which was particularly impressively expressed in the preparation and carrying out of the elections.

Thousands of army members, border soldiers and combat collectives stepped up to the ballot box with training programs fulfilled and commitments to competition and confirmed their voting with the assuming of new projects and new initiatives. High performances were achieved primarily by our career officers and career non-commissioned officers who for years in loyal fulfillment of duty have been using all their might for the defense of the GDR. Frankly and constructively in the sense of genuine democratic

cooperative shaping there were discussions in individual conversations and meetings on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress of the questions of a higher quality of political education and combat training, higher dependability in the ready alert system, in combat service and in border security. Topics of discussion were the even better control, care, maintenance and upkeep of complicated combat equipment. There was discussion as to how the socialist relationships in the military collectives can be further strengthened and obstacles in the way toward high-level combat readiness can be overcome and how the measures of the social-political program of the party, whose results continue to have a marked effect in the garrisons of the NVA and in the border troops, can be further realized step by step. Overall, the development of our armed forces reflects the conviction of the members of the army and border soldiers to live in a state which in the truest sense of the word is their own state, which pursues a policy that deeply matches their very own life interests and those of the entire people. That becomes clear again in the draft of the fiveyear plan for the development of the GDR economy in the years 1976-1980 and in the draft of the economic plan for 1977. This agreement is also completely confirmed by the members of the army in the joint coordinated foreign, security and military policies of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty. Our soldiers recognize very well the significance and importance of the international work of the GDR. The members of the NVA and the border troops derive moral steadiness from that. They fulfill their military obligation conscious that through the dependable military protection of socialism they are acting to secure the peace and for the further implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relationships between countries of different social orders in the sense of the historical mission of the working class. They stand unanimously behind the Bucharest declaration of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty and use all their strength for the realization of the great goal of the struggle for security and peace, for the continued pushing back of the aggressive forces of imperialism. The political-moral strength of the socialist fraternal armies, their high-level combat readiness go toward inducing imperialism to take further steps toward political relaxation [of tensions] and toward measures of military detente.

The recommendations in the Bucharest declarations for the concluding of a treaty by all signatory states of the Final Act from Helsinki not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, for arms limitation and disarmament enjoys widespread agreement in the NVA and in the border troops as with all workers in our country.

Also our assessments in the NVA result in the conclusion drawn in the report of the Politburo that it is essential to make every citizen even more aware of the unbridgeable class barrier that exists between socialism and capitalism. We must therefore make convincingly clear in our agitprop and propaganda that there is no reason to underestimate the belligerent politicians and military men, the military-industrial complex of monopolism and the NATO armed forces. It is true, as stated in the speech of comrade Brezhnev at the October general assembly that the danger of war, primarily

in Europe, could be diminished thanks to the power and strength of the community of states united around the USSR, the international working class, and the national freedom movement, all the forces of peace in the world.

But at the same time that also means that further progress on the roads of socialism and peace must be achieved against the growing resistance of reactionary imperialist forces. In view of this situation we must take all necessary steps, as stated in the declaration, as long as the NATO bloc continues to exist and enlarges its military potential in order to constantly guarantee in a dependable way the security of the socialist peoples. That requires that the necessary outlays for national defense must be met in order to help in an effective manner toward making the process of detente irreversible and to continue to push imperialism back. We in the NVA and the GDR border guard will do everything for the growth of combat strength and combat readiness, this in total agreement with the realization of the principle of the most economical use of financial and material funds and from the point of view of the highest level of effectiveness.

According to the overall balance achieved the economic and scientific-technical tasks for securing the armed forces require systematic realization in all areas. The realization of the present plan documents for the future and for next year will create essential material prerequisites for the further development of the NVA and the GDR border troops according to the standard set by the Ninth Party Congress.

Furthermore, considerable attention should be paid to socialist military education and the physical increase in performance as inseparable elements of communist education, primarily of our youth. To awaken the readiness to defend the socialist fatherland, to further it and to solidify it unremittingly belongs among the tasks of the party organizations, the organs that guide state and economy, and all social organizations. We mean that all-round securing of national defense in large measure is an ideological problem.

Peace Requires Strong Socialist Armies

In view of the dangers stemming from imperialism we need an even deeper understanding for the fact that our struggle for peace must be based on strong socialist armed forces. We have to take into account the fact that the development of the North Atlantic Pact, the decisive instrument for realizing the strategic goals of imperialism, aims, in the framework of long-term planning, at reshaping its forces for an extensive offensive on all fronts of the class struggle against socialism. The effort stands out more and more clearly, as a result of the armament race, to conduct this struggle from a higher level of military threat and to provide new impulses through tighter intertwining of the political-ideological, economic and military efforts.

It flies in the face of all affirmations of peace and detente when the NATO countries, chiefly the United States and the FRG, schedule high rates

of increase in their military budgets for the next 10 years. The goal of the gigantic arming efforts by NATO consists clearly in attaining in essential areas military superiority over the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, as also recently confirmed anew by Admiral Hill Norton at the meeting of the NATO military committee.

This superiority is to be guaranteed through qualitative, as well as quantitative strengthening of the strategic attack potential, by supplying and modernizing combat, command and reconnaissance equipment that far exceeds the on-going renewal of arms and equipment, and through the further intensification of training, extensive structural changes and the setting up of a complex command system and of new and/or more precisely stated principles for application and guidance. This armament program is closely tied in with the growing anticommunist education of the members of the NATO armed forces.

Class Vigilance Is Necessary in the Future

Thus the psychological arming of the Bundeswehr, which is trained with all methods of imperialist manipulation against communism and will continue to be so, has assumed a proportion previously unknown. The spirits of the cold war are gathering for hysterical anticommunist attacks against the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist states. From ideological instigation and subversive activity up to border provocations and to legally sanctioned malicious assassination of GDR border soldiers no means are too filthy for them and no lie too absurd if they believe they are able to do harm to socialism in this way.

All this underscores the necessity for high class vigilance and confirms the statement by comrade Erich Honecker at our second meeting: The guaranteeing of internal and external security is the essential part of our republic."

Our party has always taken to heart the perception of Vladimir Illyich Lenin that a revolution is only worth something if it knows how to defend itself; our party has always taken to heart the experiences of the CPSU method of struggle and the international workers movement in the 6 decades since the Great October Socialist Revolution. The military class mandate set by the Ninth Party Congress demands of us to continue to provide ideological steeling to members of the army and the border soldiers and to enable them to fulfill at all times and under all circumstances their duty as politically conscious, steadfast defenders of socialism. That requires training the members of the NVA and the GDR border troops even more effectively, to lead them to high military mastery and to always guarantee the requisite combat readiness. In this regard the key to further successes in realizing the decisions of the Party Congress in the armed forces is the strengthening of the party combat strength. I may assure the Central Committee, the Politburo and the General Secretary, comrade Erich Honecker, that the NVA and the Gdr border troops together with all other organs of protection and security in our country will use all their power for the reliable military protection of socialism and peace at the side of the glorious Soviet Army and all fraternal armies.

EAST GERMANY

# MINISTRIES' ORDER-ISSUING PROCEDURES TO BE IMPROVED

## West German Commentary

Bonn-Bad Godesberg IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 23 Nov 76 p 4

[Report from Berlin: "Orders of East Berlin Ministries Criticized." A translation of the East Berlin law journal's critique, referred to below, follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin law journal STAAT UND RECHT has expressed criticism of the GDR ministries' practice in jurisprudence as reflected in orders and implementing regulations. In point of fact, the journal has found fault with the ministries' jurisprudence in juridical as well as formal terms. Frequently, so it says, rights and duties of consignees were not clearly established nor the range of application for legal regulations, unequivocally defined, concepts were not being used uniformly, the language was often incomprehensible, and accurate stipulations were also frequently lacking with respect to the suspension or modification of other legal regulations and to precise data on the time at which they were supposed to come into effect. Moreover, the ministries should more seek to set down stable rules in effect over longer time periods that would neither encourage a splintering of the legal order nor require frequent short-term amendments for legal regulations.

## Law Journal's Critique

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 25 No 11, Nov 76 signed to press 24 Sep 76 pp 1137-1145

[Article by Dr Karl-Heinz Christoph, East Berlin, and Dr Siegfried Petzold, Legal Department, Secretariat, GDR Council of Ministers: "On the Normative Activity of the Ministries and Other Central State Organs in the GDR"]

[Text] The higher requirements placed on state management and planning and on the further development of the socialist legal order by the Ninth SED Congress also call for greater attention to the problems in the normative activity of the ministries and the other central state organs. This entails a more penetrating concern with the general aspects of legal theory and legislative methods and with the nature and specific criteria of future normative enactments.

As the normative activity of the ministries and other central state organs is understood the edict, amendment and suspension of orders and implementing regulations as well as the issuing of normative directions by the ministers or the competent heads of other central state organs within their sphere of jurisdiction for regulating social relations. The juridical authorization for the ministers and heads of other central state organs derives from the 16 October 1972 Law on the Council of Ministers. According to its article 8 section 3, the members of the Council of Ministers "issue legal regulations in the form of orders and implementing regulations. Heads of central state organizations who are not members of the Council of Ministers may be given the right to issue orders and implementing regulations."

In conformity with it, the general statute, and, based on it, the statutes of the ministries and other central state organs are authorizing the minister, within the area of his competency, to issue orders and implementing regulations and to exercise authority over tasks within his area of responsibility through directives and instructions.<sup>4</sup>

In looking at the normative activity of the ministries and other central state organs, two general considerations should above all be kept in mind:

For one thing, the normative activity is an integral part of the management activity of the ministries and the other central state organs, subject to the tasks, rights and duties within the system of the organs of state administration. Through a further concentration of the work of the Council of Ministers on the elaboration of, and decision-making on, fundamental questions of the state management and planning of social processes toward the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the responsibility of the ministers and of the heads of the other central state organs for the implementation of the tasks assigned logically increases. They have to bring their initiatives fully to bear on the solution of the state tasks. "Our further advances bring it about," SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker emphasized at the Ninth Party Congress, "that the responsibility in state management is growing considerably. That is so for the work of the Council of Ministers as a collective management organ but also, for the personal responsibility borne by every minister, every general director, every plant director." It adds to the weight of the normative decisions the ministers have to make, so they will be able to contribute more and more effectively to the implementation of the economic and social policy decided on by the Ninth SED Congress and will further improve the management, planning and economic stimulation in any given area.

Secondly, the orders and implementing regulations constitute in numbers the largest group of generally binding legal regulations. In 1975, for example, along with the nine laws issued by the People's Chamber and the 27 decrees from the Council of Ministers, ministers and heads of other central state organs issued as many as 234 orders and implementing regulations. Of course, the further substantive development of our socialist legal order is principally subject to laws of the People's Chamber and decrees from the Council of

Ministers. It must never be overlooked that the effectiveness and the clearly comprehensible and understandable formulation of socialist law on the whole will largely be affected by the level on which the orders and implementing regulations are. That is demonstrated by such important regulations as the order on GDR economic planning, 1976-1980, the order based on the decision for performance evaluation for enterprises and combines, on the central state calculation guideline for setting industrial prices, and the orders and implementing regulations issued for the implementation of the sociopolitical program.

The following discussion will attempt to define more closely the nature and regulatory subject matter with which orders and implementing regulations are concerned and the essential substantive and formal demands made on formulating them.

Ι

Orders and implementing regulations are forms of generally binding legal regulations issued by the socialist state. To them thus also apply fully all the criteria that apply to the nature of socialist law and its norms. What we are mainly concerned with here is their manner of being objectively conditioned and their class and state character and their state enforcibility, that is, the matter of enforcing these regulations. As generally binding legal regulations they are mandatory for everyone and must be observed precisely by all concerned. That applies to all state and economic management organs, the enterprises and combines, the cooperatives and facilities as much as other forms of organization, regardless of their being part of, or affiliated with, other organizations, and it applies to the citizens and their social organizations. They are also binding on all those organs that have to apply these regulations, as for instance the jurisdictional courts.

Thus the orders and implementing regulations are firm components of uniform socialist law. And consequently, for the preparation and issuing of orders and implementing regulations the same principles are in force as for other generally binding legal regulations. Therefore, these legal acts have to be drawn up with the same thoroughness and care, based on analytical research and so forth, as the higher ranking legal regulations. That entails the democratic manner of preparing intended regulations, the close cooperation with social organizations, especially the trade unions, and the coordination with other ministers and heads of other central state organs, whose areas of responsibility are affected. To the extent that areas under the competency of local state organs are affected, the drafts also have to be coordinated with the bezirk councils.

The principle vested in article 89 of the GDR Constitution, according to which generally binding legal regulations have to be promulgated in the legal gazette and elsewhere, fully applies to the orders and implementing regulations. They are being promulgated in Part I of the legal gazette. When the circle of those who are directly affected is relatively small, the publication in a gazette

supplement is authorized.  $^{10}$  The slightest departure from this requirement, especially with respect to orders directly affecting the rights and duties of the citizens and their social organizations, would lead to legal uncertainty and abet violations of socialist legality.

It is furthermore important to the issuing of orders and implementing regulations that they have to be issued by members of the Council of Ministers or heads of central state organs expressly authoritzed by legal regulations 11 and this, in their own responsibility within the framework of their competency. What we are thus concerned with are legal regulations issued by individual managers that must not conflict with superior normative acts, laws of the People's Chamber, or decrees and normative resolutions of the Council of Ministers.

II

Especially important to defining the nature and subject matter of orders and implementing regulations is a clear delineation between spheres of responsibility (often also referred to as competency areas) and the particular areas of authority belonging to the ministries or the other central state organs, as legally set down in the general statute for the industrial ministries, of 9 January 1975, and the new statutes for the ministries and other central state organs. 12

The specialized subject area thus includes those specialized substantive requirements for the fulfillment of which the competent minister or another chief within the framework of state management and planning is responsible. For example, the area of the Minister for Health includes the tasks of medical care carried out by the health facilities under him as well as the tasks of the health units under the Minister for University and Technical School Matters or under the Minister for Transport, or such as are taken care of by the health facilities in enterprises or churches. The area of the chairman of the State Planning Commisssion or of the Minister for Finance includes in each case the tasks in the field of planning or finance in all organs, combines, enterprises and facilities, regardless of their subordination or affiliation.

The area of responsibility is primarily understood in the institutional sense. It includes the organs, combines, enterprises and facilities directly responsible to a state organ; the combines, enterprises and facilities responsible to the directly subordinated organs (making them indirectly responsible to a central state organ, such as an enterprise under a state-owned enterprise, for example); the doubly subordinated specialized organs of local councils belonging to the specialized subject area of the minister; the combines, enterprises and facilities under the local councils, which are under the authority of the chiefs of the doubly subordinated specialized organs belonging to the specialized subject area; and the socialist cooperatives, which are controlled and managed by the doubly subordinated competent specialized organs of the local councils.

The area of responsibility thus includes all organs, combines, enterprises and facilities for the activities, direction and control of which the minister is responsible, and which can be reached by direct or indirect orders. There

the socialist cooperatives also belong which are affiliated under the competent specialized organs of the local councils. The legal foundations for their activities are found generally in the laws of the People's Chamber and the decrees and resolutions of the Council of Ministers. On that basis, relations are further developed within the area of responsibility, primarily through normative directions from the minister or head of other central state organs. For example, the Minister for Transport directed the planning, funding and accounting of basic assets of the material-technical territorial structure in state-owned public transportation for from 1976 to 1980, by instruction, and likewise, introduced a general agreement between transport enterprises and the bezirk directorates of GDR travel bureaus on making busses available for tourism, the Minister for Health issued as a directive the statute of the Epidemological Center of the State Hygiene Inspection Authority.

An order or implementing regulation becomes necessary when a minister or head of another central state organ must, within the framework of his own specialized area of responsibility, legally account for tasks, rights and duties that are going beyond it. They are thus always necessary when tasks, rights and duties of citizens and their organizations have to be substantiated (that is, mainly when matters of family law, civil law, labor law or criminal law are affected or fines have to be newly assessed); when tasks, rights and duties have to be developed by craft enterprises or similar forms of organization; when legal arrangements affect tasks, rights and duties of socialist cooperatives that do not belong to the given area of responsibility; when tasks, rights and duties have to be settled for organs, enterprises, combines and facilities that do not belong to the given area of responsibility; and when tasks, rights and duties of local people's representations and their councils are affected, provided these are not matters enacted within the framework of double subordination.

So it follows that, for example, regulations on the performance of travel bureaus and savings banks and on the training of master craftsmen and on advisory boards for production cooperatives of small trades were issued in the form of orders. 16 Strict attention to the delineation between the area of responsibility and the specialized task area, as well as a thorough preparation and accurate formulation of the orders and implementing regulations, will help further improve the quality and stability of these legal regulations. At the same time it also becomes possible further to reduce the number of orders and implementing regulations within the framework of systematically perfecting the legal order of the GDR.

### III

Of theoretical and practical importance to improving the normative activity of the ministries and other central state organs is a further elaboration of substantive and formal requirements for the orders and implementing regulations. They, as already mentioned, have to be in line, as to their contents and forms, with the demands placed on all other legal regulations. There are, in addition, some other requirements, and they may be summarized as follows:

(a) Especially, it must be seen to it that the orders and implementing regulations render management and planning effective, are in substance aimed at making the persons concerned act rationally, at reducing administrative expenditures and at avoiding unjustified expenses of an operational type. Based on these basic demands, the tasks, rights and duties must be clearly formulated with those in mind for whom they are intended, and they must unequivocally delineate the given areas in which the legal regulations apply.

It may be worthwhile in this connection to refer to the statement made at the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that the essence of organizational matters, simply speaking, comes down to this "that everyone does his job, for which he must have all appropriate rights, within the framework of which he will bear all the responsibility. This elemental rule of thumb at once also amounts to the alpha and omega of all managerial science and practice." This demand fully applies to further perfecting the normative activity because it is precisely through the legal regulations that agreement can be assured between tasks and responsibilities on the one side and rights and duties, on the other.

- (b) Also in the case of orders and implementing regulations one must seek to create complex and comprehensible regulations that are stable and last over long periods, which would neither fragment the legal order nor require frequent, always short-term, amendments for legal regulations. That implies that, in principle, multiple regulations on one and the same subject matter should not be issue in juxtaposition. The Ninth SED Congress raised the demand that in important spheres of law in force, its conformity with the requirements of our development should have to be thoroughly checked and consistent arrangements should be sought. From this, the consequence for the further refinement of the normative activity of the ministries and the other central state organs lies in the need properly to integrate normative acts they issue with such cohesive overall arrangements.
- (c) Another requirement is to avoid overlap with other legal regulations in force as well as repetition of regulations as much as possible. In legal drafts one often finds regulations which are merely repetitions of legal norms. Such repetitions are quite generally a problem, in view of assuring the principal authority of the laws and thus, the observance of legality, because a reformulation of a norm contained in the law could easily bring about a change in the content of the law. Practical jurisprudence has demonstrated, to be sure, that repetitions cannot always be entirely avoided, especially not in implementing regulations. In order to make a legal regulation more comprehensible, it is sometimes more suitable to reiterate a legal formulation than to give a reference. One must also strictly see to it that claims settled in a clear language of a document, without equivocation, will not thereafter again be modified because subsequent formulations may be different.
- (d) Among the elemental demands for how to write orders and implementing regulations is that one state in all clarity which suspension or amendments of other legal regulations are thereby caused and at what time exactly the new provisions go into effect.

(e) Finally, the orders and implementing regulations must be written in an understandable language, and the concepts used must be uniform in meaning and must not permit diverse interpretations. For example, the law on the people's representations and the civil code contain a number of conceptual rules for designating the state organs or particular population groups, the uniform and consistent use of which must be observed in all legal regulations.

The substantive and formal demands raised here by no means make any claim to being complete. Rather, in view of experience encountered, they are merely meant to call attention to certain general requirements. These matters also should become subject to subsequent theoretical examinations.

IV

Among the interesting matters, practically and theoretically, also is the question about bringing out specific criteria showing the difference between orders and implementing regulations.

In general, they are essentially alike. In the legal hierarchy, as normative acts of the ministers, they are of equal rank, of identical legal authority.19 The differences that do exist between them mainly concern their relations with, and their being dependent on, other, superior, legal regulations.

This amounts to the fact that orders are issued by the competent minister or head of another central state organ by dint of the authority for jurisprudence generally delegated to him by means of legal regulations, usually for certain and specific tasks or sets of problems in an objectively delineated sphere of social relations in his area of substantive tasks. Orders are independent vis-a-vis other legal regulations concerning the same area of social relations (including legal regulations of superior authority); when they are suspended, the order remains in force.

Implementing regulations are issued to render concrete, or to organize the implementation of, decrees and, at times, also for laws or implementing ordinances when it is the case that in the legal regulation on which they are based — the basic norm — the issuing of implementing regulations is explicitly stipulated. As a specific legal instrument for implementing legal regulations of a higher authority, an implementing regulation is, in substance, always tied to any given superior basic norm. It can render the regulations on the basic norm more concrete and can elucidate matters of fact, define concepts, settle procedures, render competency provisions precise or, as in precedents, specify the applicability of the basic norm, or establish measures for its implementation. The content and language of the basic norm must not be changed in this. Thus, the implementing regulations is closely tied to the basic norm; it does itself depend on the basic norm in terms of its permanence (when the basic norm is suspended, the implementing regulation also goes).

The special legal instruments of orders and implementing regulations as generally binding legal regulations are, mainly, not needed when binding regulations are to be established within the area of responsibility of a minister or other head of some central state organ. For such regulations the ministers and other heads have the issuing authority for normative regulations. As the most important instruments for normative direction, the general statute of the industrial ministries and the statutes of the ministries and other central state organs are where those instructions and directives are vested in authority. They may be referred to as basic types of normative direction that are to be applied in a comprehensive sense, in preference to other forms of normative direction that are not vested in the statutes.

Instructions and directives are general (normative) dispositions by a minister or head of other central state organs for a uniform implementation of specific tasks within their areas of responsibility. They set down the tasks, rights and duties and, if need be, the specific responsibility incumbent upon certain organs, enterprises, combines, cooperatives and facilities, as they result from the legal regulations for any given area of responsibility, and they define the personal responsibility of certain heads and associates in their fulfillment of concrete tasks and the rights they enjoy while fulfilling them. The instructions and directives must be used as the binding regulations for deciding all matters that have to be resolved concerning all tasks objectively arising within the area of application for these instructions and directives.

Rulings affecting enterprises and facilities that are not within the sphere of responsibility of any given minister yet handle specialized matters belonging in the minister's area of responsibility may, in so far as for such rulings no orders or implementing regulations are required, be handled in the form of joint dispositions or joint instructions in cooperation with any given competent minister or head of other central state organs in whose area of responsibility those particular enterprises and facilities do belong. Practically this means that each minister issues the mandatory regulation for his particular area of responsibility. To obtain uniform procedures in the use of the various forms of normative instruction, the specifics of those various forms have to be worked out yet in greater detail.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1. As central state organs are here defined those central organs of state administrations that are headed by persons who do not belong to the Council of Ministers and yet enjoy juridical authorities.
- Cf. the textbook "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie"
   (Marxist-Leninist Political and Legal Theory), Berlin, 1975, pp 422 f;
   M. Benjamin, H. Moebis and L. Penig, "Funktion, Aufgaben und Arbeitsweise der Ministerien" (Function, Tasks and Procedure of the Ministries), Berlin, 1973, p 106.

- 3. Cf. GBL, Part I, 1972, p 233.
- 4. Cf. Article 3 section 2, "Rahmenstatut fuer die Industrieministerien Beschluss des Ministerrates vom 9.1. 1975," GBL, Part I, p 133; Article 2 section 5, "Statut des Amtes fuer Preise beim Ministerrat der DDR Beschluss des Ministerrates vom 19. 2. 1976," GBL, Part I, p 217; Article 2 section 4, "Statut des Staatssekretariats fuer Berufsbildung Beschluss des Ministerrates vom 10. 7. 1975," GBL, Part I, p 637.
- 5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 87; cf. also Comrade Horst Sindermann, "Bericht zur Direktive des IX. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1976-1980" (Report on the Ninth SED Congress Directive for the Give-Year Plan on the Development of the GDR Economy, 1976-1980), Berlin, 1976, p 53.
- 6. GBL, Special Supplement No 775 a-e.
- 7. GBL, Part I, 1976, p 321.
- 8. Cf. first implementing regulation for the decree on extending weekly vacations and improving maternity benefits, 4 June 1976, GBL, Part I, p 271; second implementing regulation, 17 July 1976, GBL, Part I, p 369.
- 9. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie," loc. cit., p 431.
- 10. Cf. implementing regulation of 16 August 1972 on the legal gazette of the GDR, GBL, Part II, p 572.
- 11. Cf. resolution of 8 May 1975, GBL, Part I, p 434.
- 12. Cf. Article 1 of general statute for the industrial ministries, GBL, Part I, p 133; Article 1, "Statut des Ministeriums fuer Verkehrswesen Beschluss des Ministerrats vom 14. 8. 1975," GBL, Part I, p 621; Article 1, "Statut des Ministeriums fuer Bauwesen Beschluss des Ministerrats vom 4. 9. 1975," GBL, Part I, p 682.
- 13. "Anweisung ueber die Planung, Finanzierung und Abrechnung der Grundfonds der materiell-technischen Territorialstruktur im volkseigenen oeffentlichen Verkehrswesen fuer die Jahre 1976 bis 1980," "Verfuegungen und Mitteilungen des Ministeriums fuer Verkehrswesen vom 26. 8. 1975." (Directives and Information of the Ministry for Transport, 26 August 1975).
- 14. "Anweisung ueber die Einfuehrung eines Rahmenvertrages fuer Leistungen mit Kraftomnibussen fuer den Tourismus zwischen den VEB Kombinaten Kraftverkehr bzw. Kombinaten/Betrieben des Staedtischen Nahverkehrs und den Bezirksdirektionen des Reisebueros der DDR," Ibid., 21 September 1973.

- 15. "Anweisung ueber das Statut des Epidemiologischen Zentrums der Staatlichen Hygieneinspektion vom 23. 12. 1975," "Verfuegungen und Mitteilungen des Ministeriums fuer Gesundheitswesen" (Directives and Information of the Ministry for Health), No 2, 1976.
- 16. Cf. "Anordnung ueber die Allgemeinen Bedingungen fuer Leistungen des Reisebueros der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik - Leistungsbedingungen des Reisebueros," 27 July 1976, GBL, Part I, p 405; "Anordnung ueber den Sparverkehr bei den Geld- und Kreditinstituten der DDR," 28 October 1975, GBL, Part I, p 705; "Anordnung ueber die Ausbildung der Meister des Handwerks," 30 December 1974, GBL, Part I, p 173; "Anordnung ueber die Arbeit der Beiraete fuer Produktionsgenossenschaften des Handwerks," 29 June 1961, GBL, Part II, p 325.
- 17. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1976, p 75.
- 18. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 112.
- 19. "The hierarchy of the normative acts of socialist law is a reflection of the hierarchy of the state organs," ("Marxistisch-leninistische Staats-und Rechtstheorie," op. cit., p 419).

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EAST GERMANY

#### GDR PRESS STAFF ACTIVITIES IN BONN DISCUSSED

Staff Increased

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Jan 77 p 2

[DPA dispatch from Bonn]

[Text] The GDR Permanent Representation in Bonn has increased its "Press and Culture" section under Embassy Counselor Siegfried Hoeldtke from two to five staff employees. Guenther Cawein, who has been responsible for press contacts since May 1974, has been joined by Rolf and Ingrid Muth, a married couple, and by Egon Handt. [Rolf] Muth to date has been with the GDR Foreign Ministry, responsible for press relations. [GDR Representative Michael] Kohl has also introduced Guenther Herlt as GDR television's new Bonn correspondent, who will soon succeed Heinz Grote when the latter returns to his central office.

Background to Correspondent's Transfer

Bonn DIE WELT in German 19 Jan 77 p 3

[Article by Manfred Schell, Bonn: "'GDR' Journalist Grote Leaves Federal Republic Unexpectedly"]

[Text] A short-term reassignment evidently is meant to save Heinz Grote, the correspondent of "GDR" television in the FRG, from criminal investigation. As the Limburg state attorney's office confirmed to DIE WELT yesterday, Grote in his car, on 4 December 1976, collided with a Greek trailer on the express highway near Limburg. Two persons were seriously hurt in the accident, for which Grote was responsible. Grote's cameraman Czygan had broken his pelvis, leg and ribs. The authorities had started criminal procedures against Grote, a spokesman declared.

The capital was startled by the announcement from the permanent GDR representative Michael Kohl that Grote would "soon" be replaced by Guenther Herlt. As "GDR" radio and television commentator, Herlt is quite well known among German authorities. The "GDR" representation has already announced Herlt officially by a letter to the Federal Press Office.

Another indication for Grote's imminent replacement is that neither he nor his wife Christa, who also is an accredited journalist, thus far picked up their annual press card for parliament. All other "GDR"correspondents were among the first to do so.

Grote has been working in the FRG for 2 years and demonstrated in these years what he and those who sent him here in East Berlin understand by objective journalism and how well he serves the purpose of fostering good neighborly relations with Bonn. The topics of his reports can be divided almost exclusively into four categories: unemployment, the withholding of jobs and snooping, price increases, alleged neofascist intrigues and warmongering, the main points of concern in two-thirds of his 30 reports written within the last 3 months.

And on "GDR" television, it came out as follows:

Grote on unemployment in the FRG: "The trip to the employment office is no way out but often a trip to the down-and-out. Tens of thousands of young people in all capitalist states are running into this kind of experience this year. The right to useful work, creative activity, the experience and testing of one's own creative energy, which is perhaps the most important of all human rights, in the world of profiteering it is no more than a hollow phrase."

Grote on the withholding of jobs: "Ludwig van Beethoven is lucky to have been dead for almost 150 years. If he were still alive, and lived in his birthplace of Bonn, he would not even be allowed to become a music teacher; and instead of a monument, his revolutionary-democratic views would probably have kept him from getting a job."

The "GDR" correspondent, thinking of himself also as a mouthpiece of the communist organizations in the FRG, devoted but two reports to the most important domestic topic last year, the federal elections: one, 3 weeks before the election, about the DKP's having been taken advantage of, allegedly, and another one, 6 weeks later, when the DKP criticized the "misjudgement" of the German electorate.

In August last year, Grote's wife also made the headlines in the German press. At that time, as East Berlin's official new agency ADN announced under protest, she ahd been "thrown on the ground and wounded by a policeman's club" when the police acted during an NPD demonstration in Frankfurt. The VdJ (Association of "GDR" Journalists) immediately joined in the protest.

The Federal Chancellery was not prepared to accept an official protest from the "GDR" representation. Why? The ADN claim stood in gross contradiction to what the lady journalist had said to physicians and nurses in the Frankfurt clinic after she had arrived there. According to the clinic, she said she had been on a shopping spree with her daughter in Frankfurt on that weekend. While standing in front of a show window, a throng had knocked her down. Asked specifically, she said the police did not hurt her. Only after Dieter Wolf, Bonn correspondent of the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, visited with her, Christa Grote changed her story.

5885

CSO: 2300

DETAILS OF AIRCRAFT NAVIGATIONAL, GUIDANCE SYSTEMS PROVIDED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 12, Dec 76 pp 538-541

[Article by Lt Col H. J. Krebs: "Navigational and Steering Systems in Transport Aircraft"]

[Text] Navigational and Steering Systems

Course System

In an aircraft the course system (KS) is a central system which rationally combines magnetic, gyroscopic, radio and celestial means of course measuring.

It determines and displays the course and track angle of the aircraft. The bearing and course angle of the radio compass and the course angle (magnetic or orthodrome) are displayed on an indicator. The course deviation angle is fed to the PUT system and the flight controller.

As a rule course systems have three operating modes:

- --magnetic correction,
- --directional gyro,
- --celestial correction, which is not used in short- and medium-range air-craft.

The primary mode of operation is "directional gyro," the readings of which are periodically checked and updated by magnetic or celestial correction. The track angle can be read from a bearing plate on the course indicator. The track angles to beacons are shown by two different needles if two automatic radio compasses are provided in the aircraft. The pilot or navigator can read directly the course being flown or the degree of deviation.

In the "magnetic correction" mode the magnetic course selector is on. This consists of three magnetic probes, each mounted at an angle of 60 degrees in relation to the other. The signal windings are arranged in a star circuit and the magnetic windings in a series circuit.

The induction indicator values are a result of an electromotive force, formed in the signal windings of the three probes of the induction triangle, which depends on the angle between the aircraft's longitudinal axis and the horizontal component of the earth's magnetic field. Values up to .06 Oersted ( $\sim 0.755\ 10^{-3}\ A/m$ ) can be measured by this means.

The measured values go to the correction mechanism where the instrument errors and the resultant magnetic declination are corrected with an adjustable band.

The course signals go to the gyroscope assembly where they are fed to the gyroscope (gyroscopic effect) and the track angle is displayed on an indicator.

The course gyroscope is a static gyroscope with three degrees of freedom with the main gyroscopic axis and the axis of rotation of the rotor being horizontally arranged. So as to avoid cardan errors during banks, the gyroscopic system is mounted in an additional frame whose attitude in relation to the central erecting gyros can be changed.

The earth's rotation causes an "apparent" precession of the gyroscopic axis. This value is equal to the vertical component of the angular velocity of the earth's rotation, this being determined by the degree of latitude of the earth. A latitude corrector compensates this error. The navigator sets the latitude being overflown on a potentiometer.

The course from the gyroscopic assembly is fed to the display instruments and the user through selsyns and repeater devices. In the "celestial correction" operating mode the course gyroscope is corrected by the astrocompass rather than by the magnetic course indicator. The gyroscope adjusts itself to and receives the data fed from the astrocompass through a selsyn and repeater system.

In this operating mode the orthodrome course is displayed and processed by the user.

The "directional gyro" operational mode is the principal mode. This mode guarantees the highest precision in maintaining the orthodrome course. In this case magnetic and celestial correctors are switched off. The accuracy of the course reading is largely dependent on the magnitude of the precession in the azimuth, this being influenced in proportion to precession rate and the operating time of the gyroscope.

The stability of the gyroscope increases, i.e. its precession decreases, as the kinetic moment increases. But stability also depends on external moments (friction, electrical connection, latitude correction and the like). As a rule the error may not exceed 1 degree per 30 minutes of flight. During longer flights a correction using the magnetic field or the astrocompass should be made.

The aircraft flies along an orthodrome, a loxodrome or a combination of both. The orthodrome course is used particularly in polar areas and in blind flying.

In their technical design course systems are adapted to the most varied missions and operational principles of aircraft types but their working principles do not differ. Figure 6 illustrates how many course angles have to be measured in order to navigate an aircraft from one point on the earth to another.

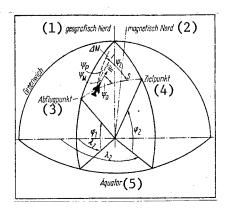


Figure 6. Illustration of the Navigational Principle With the Course System in the Northern Hemisphere

#### Key:

- 1. Geographic north
- 2. Magnetic north
- 3. Departure point

- 4. Destination
- 5. Equator

The angles have the following meanings:

- $\varphi$ ,  $\lambda$  Angle of geographic latitude and longitude,
- Pp Course angle to geographic north,
- $\Psi_{M}$  Course angle to magnetic north,
- $\Psi_{\mbox{\scriptsize N}}$  Course angle to orthodrome,
- $\Delta ilde{ ext{M}}$  Difference between geographic and magnetic north course angle.

The vector W corresponds to ground speed in drift and s denotes the track.

PUT Flight Director System

The flight director device consists of several modules and indicators. It makes aircraft steering easier for pilots.

The following functions are accomplished:

--automatic and semiautomatic steering of the aircraft using inputs from the Kurs MP or RSBN installations,

--displaying of the following parameters on the combined display instruments: bank, pitch, deviation from glide path, course, prescribed course, course angle to transmitter, deviation from course track, deviation from prescribed course, bearing angle to transmitter (beacon).

## Malfunction Warning

Flight director errors are rare.

The electrical signals giving information about angles and coming from the Kurs MP or RSBN navigational sets drive the flight director system.

The differential equations for each type of steering are solved in a computer and the results are displayed on the indicator in the form of a command. On the command displays of the pilot and copilot the vertical pointer shows deviation from the computed track and the horizontal pointer the computed glidepath, both being displayed as a command signal with the pointer position determining the correction (pointer right—fly right).

An aircraft silhouette in the center of the display device provides information about the aircraft bank in relation to the horizontal and a vertically moving horizon line indicates pitch by its position relative to the silhouette.

A triangular pointer which moves up or down shows aircraft deviation from the airfield's glide slope (see also Figure 7). The command display can be switched off.

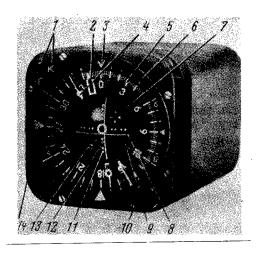


Figure 7. Exterior View of the NKP-4 Navigation and Course Display Device

#### Key:

- 1. Landing pointer corrector
- 2. Prescribed course pointer
- 3. Course mark
- 4. KWF pointer
- 5. Course scale
- 6. Course angle scale
- 7. Course channel mark

- 8. Glidepath angle deviation pointer
- 9. Course deviation reading
- 10. Prescribed course setter
- 11. Glidepath deviation reading
- 12. Course angle deviation pointer
- 13. Glide channel mark
- 14. Fourth turn mark

The clinometer, a curved glass tube filled with a dampening liquid and in which a ball moves as a result of its mass and centrifugal force acting on it, shows the pilot if the aircraft bank in relation to the resultant centrifugal force was correctly selected.

The magnetic course is displayed on a second display device (magnetic display). A second pointer is driven by the radio compass and shows the KWF (course angle to beacon). In the center of the device are crosspointers which display the course and glidepath deviation from the course and glide slope of the ground stations. Two marks indicate good reception and functioning of the course and glidepath channels.

In semiautomatic operation the pilot steers the aircraft by the command pointers.

In flight director system automatic operation the command signals are coupled via a connecting block to the autopilots (flight controllers) which actuate the steering organs. As the aircraft approaches the airfield, the pilot switches over to the available landing system and selects the airfield frequency after the third turn, that is, if prior to turning on to the landing course when the aircraft is flying the computed curve radius in which the landing course transitions to the runway.

In automatic operation the flight controller assumes steering of the aircraft.

A good landing approach is guaranteed if the fourth turn is initiated at a range of at least 12 kilometers from the runway.

#### AP Flight Controller

The flight controller, also called autopilot, consists of several steering channels. The flight controller versions most widely used in transport aircraft have three steering channels for stabilizing the aircraft about its center of gravity and for automatic steering of the aircraft. longitudinal axis, lateral axis and course are stabilized by control surface deflections via the three channels. The construction of individual channels is similar. Differential equations in the form of electrical signals are processed with control circuits in the individual channels. This is necessary because the control surface movement to stabilize the aircraft cannot occur suddenly with a certain magnitude. The aircraft will go into uncontrollable oscillations and fail to assume a stable position given a sudden change in control surface position. The essence of steering is thus to so form the control surface movement that a correction occurs with a strongly damped oscillation, that is, the control surface movement is the result of a computation process with a definite number of input values and an established algorithm process to remove an error. optimum correction is thus established with the feedback in the channel.

In fighter aircraft, which must cover a very large speed range, the speed values and altitude influence the degree of feedback so as to achieve optimum stabilization and steering of the aircraft.

Figure 8 shows a very simplified construction of a flight controller. Data in the form of electrical signals from the individual transmitters and systems are fed to the channels and then to the booster motor which places the control surfaces in the prescribed position via the cable lines. Hydraulic boosters are used to replace the booster motor to a certain extent or both are combined.

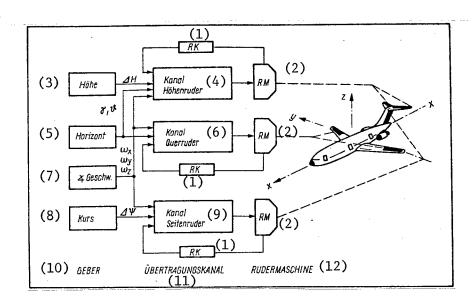


Figure 8. Basic Principle of the Flight Controller

## Key:

- 1. Control circuit
- 2. Control motor
- 3. Altitude
- 4. Elevator channel
- 5. Horizon
- 6. Aileron channel

- 7. Speed
- 8. Course
- 9. Rudder channel
- 10. Transmitter
- 11. Transmission channel
- 12. Control motor

The feedback signal is taken directly from the booster motor or the control surface and fed to the channel input. The "altitude" transmitter feeds the  $\Delta H$  error signal for the selected altitude to the input of the elevator channel.

The required altitude is selectable or the altitude valid at the synchronization moment is used. At the same time the pitch signal of the aircraft's longitudinal axis  $\boldsymbol{\vartheta}$  and the signal  $\boldsymbol{\omega}_y$  for the angular velocity around the y-axis of the aircraft are fed to the altitude channel input. These three input values form the elevator position output value necessary for aircraft

stabilization. The transfer members of the adjusting circuits are so configured that only strongly damped oscillations occur, that is, the aircraft does not porpoise at the prescribed altitude.

The input value of bank  $\gamma$  from the artificial horizon and the angular velocity  $\omega_X$  about the x-axis of the aircraft are fed to the aileron channel.

Some flight controllers use this channel for course angle correction because in a bank a rotation about the z-axis also arises and thus the aircraft is again returned to the prescribed course. Larger course angle corrections are not possible in this manner.

The course angle deviation signal  $\Delta\Psi$  and the signal  $\omega_Z$  for angular velocity about the z-axis are fed to the input of the rudder channel.

The aircraft is held on the selected prescribed course by rudder steering. The course signal is derived from the course system.

The three channels are identical in their basic configuration. They steer the control motors which, in turn, bring the control surfaces to the prescribed position using the cable lines. Designers provide some hydraulic boosters which use hydraulic elements to actuate control surfaces. Both methods are used to a large extent.

The acknowledgement which returns to the steering channel input via the feedback channel is formed by the control motor or the control surface.

Figure 9 shows the working principle of a flight controller in a greatly simplified fashion.

The flight controller has the following operational areas in cooperation with the devices described in Part I:

- --long distance flight--switch-on altitude of >200 meters,
- --long distance flight by VOR or RSBN--x-axis stabilized,
- --landing approach by ILS, SP-50 or RSBN--synchronization altitude ~ 400 meters.

The flight controller stabilizes the aircraft with sufficiently high accuracy: course deviations <  $\pm$  0.5 degrees, banks <  $\pm$  1 degree, pitch <  $\pm$  0.5 degrees and altitude <  $\pm$  25 meters.

If the flight controller is overloaded or larger error signals occurs, it cuts itself off and signals this by a horn and blinking light.

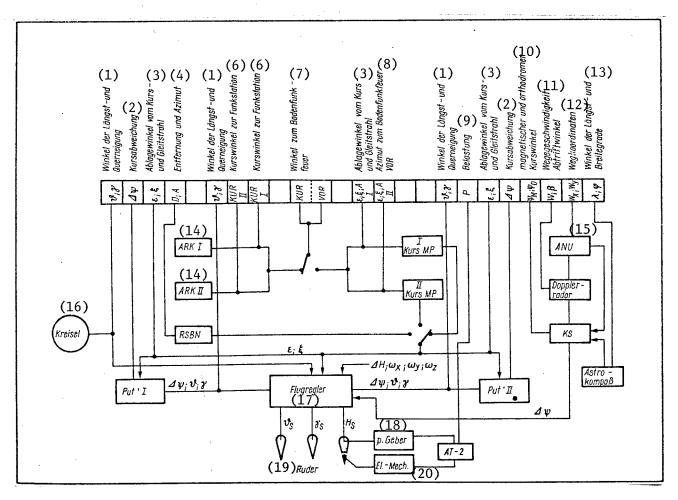


Figure 9. Principal Coupling of the Devices

#### Key:

- 1. Pitch and bank angle
- 2. Course deviation
- 3. Course and glidepath deviation angle
- 4. Range and azimuth
- 5. Omitted
- 6. Course angle to transmitter
- 7. Angle to ground beacon
- 8. Azimuth to ground beacon
- 9. Load
- 10. Magnetic and orthodrome course angle

- 11. Route speed
- 12. Track coordinates
- 13. Latitude and longitude angle
- 14. Automatic radio compass
- 15. Automatic navigation unit
- 16. Gyro
- 17. Flight controller
- 18. Transmitter
- 19. Control surface
- 20. Electromechanical

## AT Trim Controller

A center of gravity change which must be repeatedly trimmed occurs as a result of fuel consumption, inexact loading and moving passengers. These

center of gravity changes occur along the aircraft longitudinal axis (x-axis) and are corrected with the elevator or with its trim tab.

The forces acting on the elevator can have magnitudes which could result in destruction of the control motors. An automatic trim control is inserted so that not all forces act on the control motor. It informs the pilot about control surface load and provides an automatic center of gravity correction by a new trim controller position.

Long-range aircraft also use a cross-pumping system with water or fuel. The elevator and its control motor are relieved by the shifted mass and a larger center of gravity change is countered.

The trim controller is a simple control circuit. A force transmitter located in either the control surface or on the control motor forms the electrical signal and then the trim tab is adjusted by a steering circuit and electric mechanism. The trim tab position is displayed to the pilot. The trim tab can also be set manually.

#### Conclusions

Navigational devices of the past functioned in a relatively autonomous fashion. Now the most varied navigational devices are being increasingly combined with the goal of making possible an automatic flight including takeoff, landing and rolling to parking position.

Supersonic aircraft cannot be navigated with a slide rule and chart. Since the time required for this is not available, automatic navigational systems with ever greater accuracy must be developed for aircraft of the new generation.

A decrease in personnel is sought with improving automation. Pilots and copilots will monitor the automatic steering of the aircraft while the flight engineer monitors correct functioning of the engines and instrument panels.

Figure 9 shows the most important combinations of individual navigational devices. For simplicity's sake many secondary bypasses, automatic switches and automatic control devices have been omitted.

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EAST GERMANY

#### SEPARATE BISHOPS CONFERENCES DEFENDED

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 16 Dec 76 pp 5-6

[Article by Hubertus Guske: "Two Bishops Conferences in Two States"]

[Text] The founding of a separate and independent bishops conference in the GDR by the Holy See has rather unanimously been interpreted by the international press as what it in fact amounts to: a legal separation of the church organization in the two German states. GDR bishops now are no longer even de jure members of the so-called German Bishops Conference, and the new Berlin Bishops Conference no longer is a regional branch thereof. The Holy See has confined the competency area of the German Bishops Conference, in its new statute, to the FRG and West Berlin. In line with political realities there thus are now two separate and independent German Bishops Conferences, one for the church in the FRG, one for the church in the GDR. Either body can make legally authoritative decisions only for the dioceses in its respective territory. Direct or indirect meddling by FRG bishops in GDR church affairs, as was the practice previously, would now be a violation even in terms of ecclesiastic law. After the Vatican's decision had been announced, comments appeared in the FRG press which were downright models of distorted thinking. Some newspapers, that is, wanted to present the essence of the Roman act neither in its full importance as an act of ecclesiastic law nor in its ministerial and political importance and thus of necessity had to resort to fairly confusing interpretations.

None of the distortions were of much use, however, and eventually the truth could not be bypassed after all. DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG CHRIST UND WELT wrote that "now the separation of German Catholicism had become, de jure, a matter of fact." NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG commented: "The German Bishops Conference is no longer competent for the territory of the GDR." In the Vatican, the West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL observed, the new status of the Bishops Conference in the GDR was "by and large regarded as a step long overdue." And STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG added: "What matters most is the realistic comprehension that the community life of Catholics in the two German states proceeds under such basically different conditions that different forms of order are required in each." Even Otto B. Roegele of RHEINISCHER MERKUR finally came to the realization: "It is sure that this will not be the last step." And indeed, elevating the Erfurt/Meiningen, Magdeburg and Schwerin districts into canonically independent bishoprics, that is, alining their jurisdictional with the national boundaries, would ccomplete the normalization of the church organization in the GDR.

The decision by the Holy See had to be made against stubborn resistance from the FRG. While certain political and ecclesiastic circles in the FRG formerly sought to disguise their machinations against the normalization of church jurisdiction in the GDR, now that resistance and displeasure was frankly admitted. CDU chairman Kohl, for instance, expressed "regret" about the most recent Vatican decision and was not ashamed to announce that his party had previously expressed its "doubts" about an independent GDR Bishops Conference to the "proper authorities." Kraemer, editor in chief of KNA (Catholic News Agency), placed great value on his remark that the FRG bishops had "painstakingly avoided even verbally agreeing to the removal of the Berlin Bishops Conference from the German Bishops Conference. The Vatican's decision is being accepted The German bishops by no means took an active stand." TAGESSPIEGEL "Long debates were held about it between the Catholic bishops in Germany (Author: What is meant here is probably the FRG.) and the Vatican, mainly between the late Archbishop of Munich, Cardinal Doepfner, and the Papal State Secretariat."

This makes clear who stands where in this matter. The CDU/CSU leadership and the leadership of the FRG Bishops Conference, together with supporting organizations such as the Central Committee of the FRG Catholics and revanchist affiliations, formed a common front trying to force the Holy See to keep the bishops and Catholics in the GDR in the discriminating status of reduced privilege for political reasons. Rome did not bend to the pressure from reaction and has now bestowed on the episcopate in our republic the same full rights that any other national or territorial bishops conference enjoys. Berlin no longer has to listen to Fulda, only to Rome.

This has however not yet done away with the FRG's resistance against the new situation in ecclesiastic law. On the contrary: it seems the FRG church leadership intends practically to ignore the unwillingly received Vatican decision. Cardinals and bishops, who used to make so much of the principle "Rome has spoken, the cause is settled" (Roma locuta, causa finita), are now adopting positions that are coming mighty close to open disobedience to the Holy See. Although the founding of an independent Berlin Bishops Conference in the GDR, in the explanations given by the Holy See (cf. No 11/76, page 2), unequivocally constitutes a legal separation from the Bishops Conference in the FRG, the Bonn secretariat of that conference commented on the legal act of Rome by saying that the FRG bishops saw in "this canonic independence of the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries no act of separation." In the same sense and at the same moment, the Central Committee of the FRG Catholics added that the "will for church unity in Germany" remained an "obligation."

A few days later, early in November 1976, the chairman of the FRG Bishops Conference, Cardinal Hoeffner, dispelled the last doubts about his persistent resistance to Rome: The founding of the Berlin Bishops Conference had "touched him painfully" yet it did not "cancel the close ties existing between the bishops and priests and flock in the divided parts of our single fatherland"; every FRG bishop had the obligation "to bring to conclusion the unity and freedom of Germany."

Those are the kind of formulations that could have come right out of the arsenal of utterances of a Franz Josef Strauss. Just like the CSU boss and other political adventurers, the Cologne Cardinal more and more shows up as a man of the political right-wing who, while abusing his high ecclesiastic office, is handling the business of revanchist enemies of detente, not being afraid to misinterpret or despise unequivocal legal acts of the Holy See. After all, Cardinal Hoeffner cannot possibly be naive enough to believe that the Catholics or any other citizens of the GDR would look at the FRG, in its late capitalist, crisis-ridden stage, afflicted with so much social and political injustice, as their own "fatherland," as little as it can be claimed, vice versa, that all Catholics and other citizens of the FRG had already realized that the socialist GDR could be their fatherland. What good thus is such fancy speculation? The distance between Cologne and Bonn is not that great for Cardinal Hoeffner to have remained in the dark about the existence, guaranteed by international law, of two German states, something even his own government accepts. And as there are two sovereign, mutually independent German states with entirely different, even opposing, social orders, there are thus now also two independent Bishops Conferences with ministerial tasks under entirely different social conditions, as the Holy See has explicitly stated.

What is the good of all this talk then about "unity" and "no separation" and "close ties"? All Catholics unity through faith and their being affiliated by means of the Papacy is understood and is not being denied. But that is not what Cardinal Hoeffner is referring to. He started from political premises and stressed political objectives. By which, of course, he seriously encumbers any possible development of normal relations between the Bishops Conferences in the two German states.

5885

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

# INTENSIFICATION OF IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH ADVOCATED

Budapest FELSOOKTATASI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 12, Dec 76 pp 705-710

[Article by Dr Laszlo Kahulits, chief of a main department, Ministry of Education: "For Raising the Level of Marxism-Leninism Instruction"]

[Text] The system of Marxism-Leninism instruction in Hungarian higher education has developed much in the last decade and now as an organic part of the training of experts the instructors, faculties and institutions are making great efforts to bring it up to the increasing demands.

The program statement of the MSZMP states: "The role of awareness factors will increase in the upcoming period of the development of our country." For the building of the developed socialist society we must train experts who adopt as their own the historic perspective formulated in the party program and are ready to realize it in a conscious fashion. Every single member of society, but especially graduate experts, must be well acquainted with the interdependencies and laws of movement of society and the complex questions of the building of socialism. Now, and especially in the future, one cannot be a good expert if he does not know the place and role of his activity in all-social processes and if he cannot consciously strive to have his work enhance development in this sense.

The development of awareness is also necessary for a better development of socialist democracy, the participation of broad masses in the management of public affairs and exercise of power and to prepare for the conversion to social self-administration in the later period of building communism. Graduate experts have a dual role in this; on the one hand they must participate in this process with their own activity and on the other they must instruct and train the working masses for it.

Last but not least, the role of awareness is increasing because ideology has become the chief battleground in the international class struggle, its methods and tools have been enriched, and because even in the period of detente, perhaps because of it, our enemies are developing broadscale ideological diversion to "win" the awareness of the masses. We must build socialism in a

process of worldwide struggle between the two systems and so we cannot abstract our economic, cultural, political and social problems from this world situation.

We can read in the program statement: "Thus a key question and indispensable condition for the development of our entire society is a swifter and stronger change of awareness relationships making socialist morality and lifestyle general.... Greater attention must be given to mastering modern Marxist culture, preparing for communal life and forming a man with socialist morality."

Ideological and political education work is manysided and embraces every area of our social life--work, the activity of social organs, public culture and even entertainment. A special role in all this is played by education, educating the youth and forming the generation of the future. In its resolution the 11th MSZMP Congress gaw us the task: "The level of the teaching of Marxism must be raised; the Marxist world view must permeate the entire process of educational work at every level of schooling."

Starting from these considerations it is necessary to turn special attention to ideological and political education within our educational work as a whole, to forming the worldview of the students as well as the development of their practical political preparedness. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism, by its nature, is fundamental to the execution of this task.

The development of Marxism-Leninism instruction is a manysided and complex task. But its level depends primarily on two questions: How we can develop the content of the study materials adjusting it to the demands of the age and, on the other hand, how the teaching staff develops, the staff which has the task of modernizing the study material in addition to teaching it. On 20 July 1976 the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the Central Committee of the MSZMP put on the agenda a discussion of the content and cadre problems of Marxism-Leninism instruction in state higher education and took a stand in regard to the most important tasks.

### The Substantive Conception of Marxism-Leninism Instruction

The level of educational work depends before all else on the extent to which the branch of science is prepared to answer the questions in the area examined. The science of Marxism-Leninism, starting from the classics and taking their teachings into consideration, has developed a great deal in recent decades, especially in the area of information pertaining to socialism but also in its examination of the interdependencies between modern capitalism and the world revolutionary process.

This is only partially reflected, however, in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. We have not taken sufficiently conscious care to include the new achievements in instruction, and research did not turn sufficiently to those problems which need attention primarily in the area of worldview education.

We have long recognized those questions to which we could not give satisfactory answers in education. These include, for example, a definition of social being and the relationship of social awareness to it, the concept of interest, social structure in socialism, the dialectic of forces of production and production relationships, the interdependencies of price and value theory, the system of the political mechanism of socialism, etc. There are researchers who are dealing with these themes but we can make progress here only if we organize concentrated research consciously aimed at modernizing the study materials in the universities and academies.

Instruction must give answers not only to problems recognized thus far but to questions which newly arise in the course of social development. This is an especially sensitive point for our work. In part this is because the students expect answers to these questions and seek answers with special interest but in part it is because hostile propaganda exploits these gaps and tries to be misleading. Such questions in our day are: the content of developed socialism, the socialist way of life, socialist democracy, socialist integration, the development of class and stratum structure, etc.

This is why the 11th MSZMP Congress decided: "New tendencies of development must be discovered and analyzed in time and experiences must be generalized in a forward looking manner. A creative answer must be given to the questions of our social development and there must be close cooperation between Marxist social science research and propaganda."

Research began this year on eight stressed social science themes in execution of the resolutions of the congress, research aimed specifically at discovering and analyzing these new questions. Instructors at universities and academies have joined in this work on a broad scale. We must take care that the new achievements of this research quickly become part of the study materials, thus making instruction more attractive and more effective. We can teach better and at a higher level today if we take into consideration everything which the sciences are achieving.

The eternal problem of content in education as a whole and thus in higher education as well as is the unity of theory and practice. Separate theoretical and practical subjects have developed in some areas of science. This would not be good in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism; worldview and political-practical preparedness can only be developed together. But we frequently find extremes in instruction, abstract theorizing as well as practicism. Some instructors want to prove the scientific character of their subject by changing it into a "collection of laws," a "concept lexicon" or a "catechism." This can be found especially with young instructors who have little political-practical experience and avoid "sensitive" political problems and thus unwittingly permit those students so inclined to study Marxism only as a "special subject." They are thus spared taking an active political stand and can criticize social practice from the outside.

This extreme can be found in research also, especially where the instructor does not find the link to practice, does not get sufficient information or know how to get it.

The 25th CPSU Congress called attention to the importance of the link to practice, too. "It is obvious," we can read in the documents, "that the current tasks of the social sciences can be solved only if these sciences are in the closest contact with life. Scholastic theorizing only holds back our progress. Only a link with practice can increase the effectiveness of science. This is one of the central problems in our day."

In our homeland, especially in the last 10 years, as a part of the struggle against scholasticism the other extreme has strengthened, the attempt to create the unity of theory and practice with a superficial explanation of daily politics in instruction but in this fashion practice was divorced from its theoretical foundations. Frequently measures and forms were raised to theoretical rank and then in a few years it was discovered that they did not hold up. This tendency was especially strong in the teaching of political economics but it occurred and can be found in other areas, too. This extreme is also interdependent with the weaknesses of scientific work and the backwardness in the development of study materials and so the possibility for a solution lies here also.

It is also difficult to guarantee the unity of theory and practice because the students have little experience in politics and the practical questions of social development, despite the increasing social-public life activity. In addition, our instruction does not sufficiently aid the youth on the one hand to see as a unity what they study in philosophy, political economics, scientific socialism and other subjects and, on the other hand, to judge our social and political development on this basis.

This is why it is important to teach a new subject, the history of the Hungarian labor movement, in the academies and universities. This subject need not be simply a historical one. It must be ensured that the students understand how the labor movement used ideology in the class struggle for socialism, how it built the social system and the mechanism and institutions of it. On the basis of all this the contemporary forms of movement become easier to understand, they can better understand the dialectic of theory and reality and can be prepared for practical, political work, too.

A very important condition for the effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism instruction is the harmonization of the study materials and instruction of the various subjects and the substantive unity of the study materials. As in most socialist countries, the development of instruction has led to the teaching of the constituent elements of Marxism as independent subjects, and many institutions also teach ethics, sociology, esthetics and logic in addition. It is also a result of development that a system of special colleges has

developed and ideological training as a whole better fits the unique purposes of specialized training. The organizational consequence of this enrichment is the differentiation of faculties or the making more profound of the internal division of labor.

But development has also given birth to contradictions. Before all else, substantive differences have developed in the several study materials which damage the effectiveness of instruction and the lack of harmony among the subjects causes problems during training, especially in the individual work of the students.

The substantive differences naturally derive primarily from the differentiation of concepts and are interdependent with those scientific debates which by their nature are permanent in the several sciences. But there are also differences which reflect the one-sidedness of some instructors.

Unity of content does not mean that we should eliminate the problems and debates of the development of science from instruction. Without these we could not form the Marxist view, way of thinking and behavior in the students. Unity is not contradicted by the fact that the same social interdependencies are approached differently by philosophy, political economics or sociology. The problem arises if there are contradictions in basic questions in the study materials and in instruction or if the direction of view is different in the several disciplines. Marxism is a uniform system of ideas and this must be developed in the students, too.

A didactic harmonization of study materials is a substantive question for instruction, too. In this respect the teaching of Marxism-Leninism does not differ from other subjects; the difference lies only in the fact that here these problems appear more sharply.

Here we must talk about the question of the so-called "profile." Laying a foundation for and aiding "specialist training" is a very important function of the teaching of Marxism. But we cannot approve of the development of a form of specialization in instruction which, as one might say, adjusts to specialist training in a subservient fashion and in the interest of this abandons the unity of ideology, and "plucks out" the "necessary" parts. Nor can we approve of teaching the subjects of Marxism for their own sake independent of the character of the training, of the information the students have acquired and of the professional direction forming their thinking. Certainly it will be difficult to find the correct solution which is free of these extremes, especially where time problems limit the possibilities.

On the basis of all this it can lead to results if uniform basic materials are prepared from philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. These basic materials will be study materials which contain in a uniform system the basic questions of the given branch of Marxism, that minimum without which a strong worldview cannot be developed. These basic materials

must be taught as a minimum in every institution of higher education. The basic materials are not to be merely a theoretical framework; they should contain timely social questions and provide a foundation for developing practical preparedness. Care must also be taken that the basic materials be consciously and continuously modernized on the basis of the development of society and science.

Finally, we must also see that the ideological-political training of the youth in the universities and academies is a part of that process which begins in grade school and continues after graduation as part of further training. Planning this entire process is extraordinarily important but also very difficult. There are questions, however, in which progress can and must be made.

It is natural that when developing the content and even methods of university and academy instruction attention must be given to the previous "world-view life" of the students, their political experiences or lack thereof. In this area we must continue for some time to come to reckon with the fact that in some subjects the students can be regarded only as beginners. But it must also be taken into consideration that even the secondary schools are reaching ever higher levels in this and the general teaching of the subject titled "Foundations of Our Worldview" is strengthening the initial foundations. This also places a task on higher education in the area of training and further training for teachers because here the proportion of those "without training" is even higher.

In regard to the content of instruction we must also consider that the system of ideological and political training is even better extended to the working members of society, too. The foundations must be created for this but we must also develop in the youth a need for and interest in further ideological and political training.

## 2. Training New Cadres and Further Training for Cadres

The cause and consequence of the development of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism is the expansion of the staff of instructors and the improvement of their quality. Today, in regard to scientific qualifications, teaching experience and pedagogical preparedness, the instructors are holding their own nationwide by comparison with other instructors.

Training new cadres and a planned qualitative development of the instructors are important problems for higher education as a whole. In the area of Marxism-Leninism, however, cadre development is an even more important one of the multitude of tasks. Before all else this is because the demands made on the instructors are, by their nature, more complex. In addition to professional, scientific preparedness greater demands are made on them in regard to political maturity, teaching habits and political activity and the social-political leadership of the institution and region have need of their work.

This increased demand leads, on the one hand, to an increasing number of instructors becoming suitable for filling important social-political leader-ship positions. Thus many of them are promoted and leave the faculties and they must be replaced. On the other hand selecting and training replacements is more difficult than in other areas.

Special mention must be made of generation problems. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism in higher education won its civil rights in our homeland after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and expanded and became general in the early 1950's. The majority of the older instructors went into our faculties at that time and they now play the leading role. But the retirement of these has begun and is ever increasing. It is important that we take this into consideration not only because it is becoming the general situation but also because we are talking about a generation which has extraordinarily many-sided social experience and practice due to their historical situation.

The new generation has mastered science better and will soon reach a higher professional level and this is favorable for education. It may even be an advantage that they were not exposed to those effects of dogmatism and revisionism which the earlier generation had to live through. But they have little political practice and experience and through no fault of their own they cannot transmit to the students an ideology with that political and even emotional content which makes their activity more effective and convincing. Most of this young generation went into the faculties right after graduation and so have little experience.

So when providing new cadres there must be an attempt to get as many as possible into the faculties as instructors who have political and social experience. The possibilities of party institutions and foreign scholarships must be used to a greater degree for their further professional training. The planned nature of cadre work also requires that we organize the youth being considered as replacements for training or further training even before they come into the faculties.

In the interest of a swifter broadening of the practical-political experience of young people working in the faculties it is again becoming possible for them to participate on a continuing basis in the political work of party committees and KISZ committees, freeing them of instructional duties. We have made use of this method before in the course of our development. The experiences were mixed but where the positions were well chosen and the exercise organized in accordance with its purpose it was very useful for the participants.

One of the key points in the system of cadre policy requirements used in higher education is the necessity for continual further training for instructors. This is natural, for every instructor must keep up with the development of science and practice and perfect the necessary methodological preparedness. This requirement is taken into consideration in regard to promotions, qualifications and various evaluations of instructors. But for the

most part further training is left up to the individual instructors and how it progresses depends on their individual efforts and the periodic supervision of the leaders.

On the basis of the many-sided and increased demands mentioned above, regular further training for teachers of Marxism-Leninism must be made obligatory. The obligatory character is not what is new in cadre work; what is new is that we provide opportunities for further training in an organized manner.

Before all else every instructor will receive a half-year release from instructional duties every 5 years and must turn this time to further training. This system has already been introduced in a few of our institutions as an experiment and use is made of it in the larger faculties without any order. But it must be remembered that many small faculties and groups also operate in our universities and academies where not even one instructor can be replaced for half a year without causing an extraordinary burden. Only in this way can a real opportunity be guaranteed for instructors in such places.

The other condition for further training is the existence of suitable bases where scientific research, the organization thereof and information in sufficient quantity and at a high level are available to make possible effective further training. Most of our faculties, because of the nature of their tasks, are not able to care for the further training of their own instructors. Several subjects must be taught and even the faculty leader is experienced in only one subject or several themes.

So it is obvious that the task must be solved centrally. The worthiness of this is proven by the activity of the scientific socialism instructors these past few years within the framework of the Scientific Socialism Information and Further Training Institute. Inter-faculty research takes place here, timely theoretical and methodological courses are organized and the instructors are provided with suitable orientation materials.

So it would be worthwhile to organize such centers for political economics and philosophy instructors also. Naturally use must be made of party institutions, especially the courses of the Political Academy, but also of the centers organizing social science research.

All this does not mean that self-study must be forced into the background. It continues to be important that every instructor strive for quality scientific work, prepare dissertations and develop study materials. And the half year sabbatical will be very useful for this, too. But the results of this must be inquired into and evaluated at every faculty.

The significant results achieved by Marxism-Leninism instruction, the clear goals of the party and the uniting and spirited work of our instructors are proof that we will achieve these goals and thus even better satisfy the social demands being made on us.

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HUNGARY

NEW REGULATIONS ON LAND OWNERSHIP, USE DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 77 p 5

[Interview with Jeno Szilbereky, deputy minister of justice, by Laszlo Szabo: "Further Development of Land Ownership and Use"; date and place not given]

[Text] The Presidential Council recently approved a decree on the further development of land ownership and use. This important statutory provision became valid several days ago, on 1 January. There is broad interest in the provisions for it brings into effect basic social interests, and in social dimensions it promotes our use of lands not suitable to large-farm cultivation and the acquistion for long-term use by citizens of state sites for settlement-type or multilevel, group private buildings.

We visited Dr Jeno Szilbereky, deputy minister of justice, in his office to to inform our readers in an interview of the provisions and interrelations of the new statutory provisions

Answer: The main goal of the new decree and related provisions for its execution is to strengthen socialist land ownership and prevent their transfer hereafter to private ownership. That is, the law is concerned to see that the main national treasure, its land, should not be fragmented but remain in common ownership. Furthermore, it is also the goal of these statutory proisions to see that state and cooperative lands not suitable to large-scale farming should be used for agricultural and other purposes after transfer to the permanent use of cooperative members and employees or private persons; and that ownership of state lands suitable for construction should not be transferred, excepting sites necessary for building individual family houses.

Why Not Rent?

Question: How will the law effect these principles in practice?

Answer: Through various solutions. For example, in the future, state land which is being used by a tsz (agricultural producer cooperative) cannot pass into tsz ownership, that is, it will remain under state ownership. This does not violate at all the production interests of the cooperatives, since they may continue to use the state lands in their use for free and without a terminal deadline, and they may also continue in the future to obtain such state areas; the ownership right alone remains unchanged. The sale of state and cooperative lands — sites in everyday language — which may be built up with apartments or group residences, or with recreational facilities will also be discontinued. No one, that is, can purchase land for such a purpose; these lands will be transferred to builders for permanent use. (This is not the same as tenancy; a regular rent fee must be paid for tenancy and the arrangement can be renounced unilaterally.)

## Traditional Family House Construction

— Question: It is evident from the foregoing that the statutory provision takes into consideration in a far-reaching manner the interests linked to the cultivation of lands that cannot be used in large-scale agriculture. What is the situation regarding general interest linked to incentives for housing and recreational facilities?

Answer: Although the existing decree makes general the principle that land under state and cooperative ownership cannot be sold either to a private individual or to a legal entity, it makes an exception in the case of sites for building traditional family houses.

## Question: Why?

Important social interests are linked at pre-Answer: For obvious reasons. sent to the construction of family houses, for a significant part of our housing construction plans are being realized in the form of family housing. Therefore, the state helps by many means to promote and support family house construction, even though this may not be the most purposeful housing form looking at single-storied houses over the long run. But since the satisfaction of housing demands is a basic social goal of ours and the individual family units play a large role therein, the government is trying to help meet the demand through the sale of state lands; that is, the provisions make an exception to the general rule of prohibiting the sale of cooperative lands. The prohibition against selling state lands does not apply furthermore to existing ownership ratios to the state's benefit in residential and recreational sites under mixed ownership; or to sites built up with small real property construction which may be sold but is under state ownership; in these cases, the building may be purchased with the sites.

Transfer of state lands into permanent use is the task of the councils, and the cooperatives concern themselves with the transfer of land under their ownership into permanent use.

Question: To what extent do these new orders affect the ownership of lands and sites now under private or personal ownership?

Answer: The new orders do not affect the situation of these lands and sites. There are of sites alone about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million which are owned by citizens, not to speak of several thousands of hectares comprising lands for agricultural purposes. Their ownership rights, in the meaning of the law, remain unaffected; they may be bought and sold in the future as well. The limits are only set by so-called property limitation decrees, which prescribe how many sites and how much land a family may have.

The essence of the new orders — as we see — is to prevent the sale of state lands in the future or a decline in state-owned lands, and to serve the interests of the public. Since housing construction and recreational centers for week-end relaxation are basic public interests, the state seeks to help citizens to the maximum extent with lands and sites, to make it possible for them to acquire building sites, and to put the sites into their permanent use for as long as a well-built house may stand, or at least 50 years.

When May It Terminate?

Question: What do the orders call for under permanent use, and who or what persons may receive areas under this title?

Answer: State residential or recreational sites may be transferred into the permanent ownership of building cooperatives, members of building groups, or individual citizens who wish to build. In the case of individual citizens, the condition is that the so-called acquisition limitation should not apply; that is, they may not have more than what is permitted. It should be noted that foreigners can acquire state sites for permanent use only if the rules of real property acquisition would also permit them to acquire right of ownership. The designation of state sites available for permanent use transfer and the determination of the conditions of transfer are the tasks of the councils. The rule is that state sites can be transferred to permanent use only with an obligation to build. The right to use terminates if the user renounces this, if he does not meet the obligation to build, if the period of usage expires - which is at least 50 years or the life duration of the construction on the site -, or if the right of ownership to the construction is transferred. In given cases, the expropriation right may be exercised adcording to the general rules of expropriation. In such cases, the former land user — this is a basic rule — must be granted financial indemnification.

Question: Is there a payment for acquiring use?

Answer: In acquiringuse, the user must pay for a residential site a one-time fee, the sum of which is set by taking into account local trade value. This may be reduced for social considerations (young married couples, workers,

families with a number of children, and a subsidy or loan may be given for the payment. This in itself is more favorable than a purchase price, particularly if we consider that the site may be taken into use after the payment of a relatively small amount, and the rest may be paid in installments. But it is also an important advantage that no tax — transfer, etc. — needs be paid on taking over use of the site. If the right of use ends before 70 years in the case of residential sites and 50 years in the case of recreational sites, a pro-rated acmount of the use fee must be returned. I should like to emphasize the order which states the right to use such sites may be inherited, and no tax need be paid on the inheritance. On basis of the signed contract, land use right is included in real property registration records. A council might also possibly give the right of use to an area to the common use of private individuals, as for example, to build a multi-storied apartment house or a recreational facility. No tax need be paid on the site thus taken over.

It may be worth mentioning that social interest are served by the fact that fees for acquiring the right to use go to the councils, and these monies must be used for making ready other areas that can be transferred into permanent use.

Right of Ownership to a Building

Question: Who owns a building erected on such sites and who has it at his disposal?

Answer: State land transferred to permanent use does not affect the ownership right to a building established thereon; that is, according to the general rules, it can be sold at any time. If someone sells a building which was erected on state property, the new owner acquire the right to land use with whom the council, naturally, signs a new contract. In such a case, the council cannot deny the right to use. The death of the land user does not affect the right to use; according to inheritance rules, this right goes to the one who would inherit the ownership right in the case of land under private ownership. The right of usufruct may also be exercised in land areas acquired for use.

Question: Will there be enough land for use transfer?

Answer: The interested state organs must seek to develop anadequate number of state sites for use transfer, primarily for settlement-type or multi-storied constructions. But I do know that there are settlements where the supply of sites are at present a problem.

Question: Because of a building ban, there are many who do not know what to do with their building sites. Does the new order help in this regard?

Answer: Yes. The orders call on the interested state organs — depending on the carrying capacity of the economy — gradually to take steps to acquire ownership rights, naturally for the state, of sites owned by citizens which

are under a building ban. In doing this, those sites must first of all be acquired for the state — by expropriation or purchase — which because of the ban on construction and the lack of state exchange sites, cannot be used to solve their residential or recreational construction intent. This is particularly justified also in the case of those — for example, pensioners — who have no intent to build and their social circumstances justify selling their real property.

I note that the detailed rules of execution for these orders are comprised in the joint decrees of the ministries. The orders in question, inasmuch as they further strengthen socialist ownership relations, are very favorable in their social and individual aspects; they make it possible for broader masses of people to acquire the right of use over land and sites under favorable conditions and to use it for building a house, recreation facility, or to use it for economic purposes, the deputy minister of justice said in conclusion.

HUNGARY

INTERIOR MINISTRY ORDER DEFINES ADMONITORY POLICE POWERS

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 96, 17 Dec 76 pp 1170-1171

[Text] The minister of interior's order No 8/1976. (XII. 17) BM about admonition by police authorities.

Based on the authority I received in order number 39/1974. (XI. 1) MT par 15 [Council of Ministers] about the police, I am ordering the following:

## Paragraph 1

In the interest of preventing crime, the committing of a criminal act, the police may give warning by police authority (hereinafter: warning) to those who exhibit such behavior endangering the order of the state, society or of the economy, the person or rights of citizens or commit infractions against the rules of socialist society's coexistence which may lead to the commission of crime.

### Paragraph 2

The warning may be ordered by the commander of police captain, department head of police high-captain, head of a sub-department of the Ministry of Interior and managing personnel in positions higher than these.

## Paragraph 3

The police may order the person to be warned to report in person for the purpose of delivering the warning and may hear him in a recorded hearing about the behavior which provides the foundation for the warning.

## Paragraph 4

A person under legal age must be warned in the presence of his legal representative (guardian).

### Paragraph 5

(1) The ordering of a warning is accomplished by means of a resolution.

#### The resolution contains:

- -- the name of the authority;
- --name and personal data of the person warned;
- -- the part of the order concerning the warning and the possibility of appeal;
- -- the facts of deed, behavior which serve as foundation for the warning;
- -- the time and place of bringing the resolution and name of person signing it.
- (2) The resolution must be announced in the presence of the person warned and a copy must be delivered to him.
- (3) The resolution may be appealed in the first step to the head of the police authority which enacted it. The head of the supervisory police authority is authorized to review the appeal.
- (4) The appeal must be lodged within 8 days after announcement of the resolution ordering the warning.
- (5) The appeal must be reviewed within 15 days.

# Paragraph 6

In a justifiable case the police will inform the head of the place of employment of the person warned—in the case of a person undertaking studies, the head of the educational institution—about the warning and the reasons for it, after the resolution has become final.

### Paragraph 7

This order becomes effective on the day it is published.

[signed] Andras Benkei, minister of interior

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YUGOSLAVIA

### LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS POLICY TOWARD RELIGION ELUCIDATED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 25 Dec 76 pp 24-26

[Text] DELO has been reporting with relative frequency on the trends in the Catholic Church. It is understandable, of course, that we are interested primarily in events which in one way or another come into play with the social movement in our country. Accordingly, we are devoting appropriate attention to this problem area in reporting and commenting on historical as well as current events in Slovenia relating to Christianity, Catholicism, ecclesiasticism, sectarianism, and the like. Much less attention is given to the same or similar events occurring in Croatia. A few days ago, however, Ivica Racan, Executive Committee member, addressed the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia on these topics. His thoughts and conclusions, although not fully reported in the press, caused a great deal of interest in the neighboring socialist republic. The editors of DELO believe that Racan's remarks will be of interest to its readers and are publishing them in their entirety.

Within the scope of the topic we are discussing today as part of the ideo - political training of communists a very important place is occupied by the problem of the LCY attitude toward the church and religion. I shall address these problems from these general viewpoints.

In the first place it is necessary to specify on which theoretical, ideological, and social premises the LCY policy toward religion is based. Second, it should be shown, in the sociological context, which basic trends concerning the church are confronting us today. And finally, it is necessary to deal with the question of the extent of our practical political involvement in this area.

Theoretical, Ideological, and Social Bases of the LCY Attitude Toward Religion

In dealing with the question of on what premises rests the LCY's attitude toward the church, religion, and believers, I think that the answer is clear and that it has in fact already been formulated in prior descriptions. It is primarily based on the Marxist conception of religion, that is to say, on the theoretical premises of Marxism and Leninism and hence on the ideological theory of the building of a self-managing socialist society.

The basis of our attitude toward religion is accordingly the struggle for a free, unalienated socialist person and for the kind of social relationships that will remove all causes of alienation from the society, including those based on religion—with the actual change of relationships and conditions causing religious and every other kind of alienation—is an integral part of ouf Marxist view of the world. In other words, our actions in the development of the socialist self—managing society are in fact the process of overcoming the alienating conditions of man's social existence and a realistic historical repudiation of religion as a form of alienation. In this sense, it is possible to say that today our entire sociopolitical involvement, our specific socialist self—managing action, is both the condition and the practice of atheism.

In brief, we communists have no desire to fight religion -- that would be wrong. Our task is primarily to change the state of affairs in which religion appears to offer a way out of man's alienated situation. Criticism of religion, religious awareness, and religious view of the world is an integral part of the Marxist ideological and practical action directed at changing this state of affairs in our current society. In saying that we need not fight religion but rather a state of affairs in which it is not possible to be without it, a situation by which it is produced, this certainly means that the LCY must first of all analyze critically society's situation and environment and assess the importance of circumstances that still admit religion as a social fact. It is not uncalled for to reemphasize that for us communists Marxist criticism of religion cannot and must not be reduced to an abstract critical confrontation with religion such as is, for example, the question of whether God does or does not exist. The central point of this criticism of religion must under the present social circumstances be in the actual removal of the religion's social basis, as well as the fact that religion still remains a social reality. Accordingly, it is necessary to infer that conditions and grounds for religions do exist. However, as soon as that which we conceive as religion assumes a political connotation it must--and we communists should be perfectly clear on this point--be subjected to political criticism and strict ideopolitical confrontation of principle.

In this connection another observation is necessary to make the LCY approach to the problem of religion as clear as possible. We must clearly delineate what kind of criticism the LCY cannot and does not accept.

We cannot accept the so-called enlighted criticism of religion because we communists and Marxists do not hold religion to be pure nonsense devoid of all historical meaning. We maintain that religion is a historically conditioned form of social awareness. And it is for this reason that we, in contrast with the criticism of enlightment which concentrates on education and learning, desire to place the emphasis on the revolutionary transformation of society. Likewise, we cannot accept criticism—still present in some quarters—that derives religion from man's general attributes detached from the actual historical context (limitation, uncertainty, morality, and so on) and criticizes only its metaphysical character, thus limiting itself only to the abstractions. In contrast with this we are approaching religion on the basis of specific historical circumstances under which people live.

The third approach to religion which is equally unacceptable to us is the so-called positivist or scientific approach. In a simplified characterization we can say that it treats religion as a reflection of ignorance about nature, its forces and laws. From this approach it follows that development of natural sciences and scientific knowledge will by itself liquidate the age old ignorance and religious illusions stemming from it. Here, too, it is necessary to add that for us religion is not merely a sign of impotence and ignorance about nature and its laws but rather and primarily an expression of certain states of social affairs and relationships which were discussed earlier.

Finally, we cannot accept the type of criticism directed at religion sometimes called administrative atheism in our political terminology. In the most general terms this is a claim that religion as an existing fact of life can be abolished by administrative measures. Our position with respect to an approach of this kind is clear. It is best set forth in the LCY program which states: "The Yugoslav communists are aware that religion created and sustained under certain historical circumstances where people exist in a mental and material backwardness can be abolished with no administrative measures but only with incessant development of socialist social relationships, propagation of scientific knowledge, and the general development of man's awareness."

Here it is essential that a certain distinction be made. In approaching the problem of religion in the way characteristic for the Yugoslav communists we can by no means confuse the relationship between the Church and state with the attitude of the LCY toward religion. Religion is, namely, incompatible with the scientific world view of Marxism and with the communist convictions. In this respect we shall always do well by remembering Lenin's dictum: "We want religion to be a private affair in matters concerning our own party." This position needs no separate comment. It is only necessary to add that the LCY program is also very precise on this point. "Marxism as a world view and ideological basis of communist practice is totally incompatible with religious convictions of any kind. Because of this, membership in the LCY is compatible with no religious belief."

On these theoretical, ideological, and sociological premises which I tried to explain briefly, is based also the policy of the self-managing socialist society toward religion and the believers. With reference to this policy I consider it necessary to draw attention to certain points.

In socialism the church is separated from the state. For our policy and in the interest of the entire society, including both religious and nonreligious persons, it is essential that the activity of ecclesiastic institutions does not transcend the confines of the church and religion. In our society there is no place for the sociopolitical ambitions of the church. The Yugoslav constitution guarantees the right of all believers to freely express their religious feelings but it cannot and does not allow exploitation of religion for antisocialist purposes. This is clearly related to yet another element of our policy, the implementation of which must be constantly

monitored in practice, namely, the principle that our citizens cannot be classified as believers or atheists, all respect of their religious convictions notwithstanding.

Another element of our policy is the realization that religion and believers are, even under contemporary social and historical conditions, a fact of life which no effort on our part can cause to disappear. This is closely related to the position consistently advocated by our party, namely, that religious conviction is no obstacle to the actual efforts for changing the social relationships. Religious conviction represents no absolute bar to participation in the building of socialism from its initial phase of armed revolution to this date. Here, too, it is necessary to emphasize that the essential element determining our policy and strategy toward religion, church, and believers is conceived on the premise that the process through which people are liberating themselves from the influence of religion and religious awareness is precisely the self-managing socialist transformation of society.

In the pursuit of this policy we have indeed had continuity. Regardless of the sporadic problems that do not always depend on our practice the policy based on these principles has brought and is still bringing a series of positive results. The present state and trends of religious awareness in our society are undoubtedly a result of its entire socialist development as a whole. Here I have in mind quantitative data on the gradual reduction of this awareness, secularization, and the like. It would seem that these three positive results of our policy should be particularly stressed.

In the first place free expression of religious feelings remove the martyr's halo from the church and establishes the basis for its removal from the political arena. Naturally, this is a basis established by ourselves.

Second, the involvement and mobilization of theists in the building of socialism and destruction of the religions' material and spiritual environment is also one of the exceptionally positive results of our policy. However, we should not be overly complacent over this situation.

The third positive result of our policy is encouragement of the believers to resist the attempts at exploiting religion for political ends, whether such attempts come from the professional clergy, laymen, or believers.

Basic Trends in Contemporary Church

This panoply of problems should be somewhat better explained. The matter here is our need for a critical perception of what is going on in the church and the religious communities, what trends and social ambitions are involved. I feel that this critical evaluation should be a continuous process and must not be postponed until some excesses occur. The LCY must take cognizance of the fact that an institution such as the church, having an image that has been carefully shaped for a long time and ambitions which it is not prepared to readily renounce, is a factor with which it is necessary to reckon, after all.

In this context we should recall the times some 10 years in the past. At that time there were, I think, a few more pronounced attempts on the part of the Church to engage in politics. Here I do not have in mind only the Catholic Orthodox, and Islamic Church but some 30 religious communities in our society. I note that these traditional religious communities are experiencing a crisis, while some new, very active ones, are coming forth and are characterized by substantially increased activity of its members within a very short time.

Concerning the Catholic Church I shall try to give a global assessment. Its political tendency and its attempts to become a more active factor on the societal scene are manifested in various forms such as, for instance, in clericalism and nationalism, in its specific form of appearance attempting to identify religion with nationality and experiencing new qualities in its expansion. Moreover, there is a tendency that manifests itself in assuming the role of an intermediary between the believers and the social community, and that not only in the ecclesiastic affairs pertaining to religion but also in attempts at entering in a peculiar partnership promoting its views as if they were coextensive with the movements of our sociopolitical community. The question arises as to whence such a tendency comes. Part of the answer to this question is found in the present situation of the Church. The church is reexamining itself, trying to find a foothold in the present socialist situation, coping with the crisis within it which it is striving to resolve.

Another part of the answer is the fact that the church has not existed in a vacuum but within our society, the characteristics of whose development we know well. We can observe that the church gained certain standpoints on the basis of which it has been cultivating certain expectations. Standpoints which made it possible for the Church to resume emphasizing its social and political role. It was essential thoroughly to clarify the standpoints of the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox Church. In this connection I would deal only with the period of escalating nationalism. It would not be appropriate to make general statements as to whether and to what extent the church was involved in this game at that time. I would say that it was indeed involved in a certain subtle way. Precisely because of this kind of situation part of the clergy attempted to represent our principled conduct and our struggle conducted after the 21st Session of the LCY Presidium to take away the positions gained by those forces as an attack on the Church and an attempt on our part to aggravate the situation. These attempts of the clergy were, of course, closely related to certain processes within the Catholic Church such as, for instance, the process of stagnation, crisis, internal discord, decline of religious conduct, and so on. They attempted to compensate for this with endeavors of the Church to assume a more universal role in society.

It was precisely at that time that the doctrine purporting to place the Church above the state, politics, and all public and social life reappeared in a new form. Frequently this doctrine was appearing under the guise of the Ecumenical Council and modernization and reform of the church. We could say that it was precisely this political orientation that has been serving as

the ideological basis for the strengthening of clericalism. This is a manifestation of the endeavor to represent the Catholic Church as the only true defender of the Croatian national interests and, when carried to the extreme, as the heir to the policy blocked and condemned by the LCY in 1971.

In this context it is no coincidence that some members of the clergy endeavor to identify Catholicism with the Croatian nationality on one hand and orthodoxy with the Serbian nationality on the other. To this, moreover, is frequently added the thesis purporting that it was precisely the communists who had abandoned or betrayed the defense of nationality interests after the 21st Session. It was precisely at that time that this part of the clergy reacted to our total effort for creating self-managing socialist relations. When we, for instance, initiated the campaign that had as its objective the placing of the educational process on a more firm foundation provided by the Marxist socialist view of the world, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, and the ideological premises of the self-managing socialist society our efforts were met by obstinate reaction in certain ecclesiastic circles which demanded parity in the educational process. Let me only mention the thesis of the so-called neutrality of the school in this connection.

In that same period we had to deal with the attempt at generalization of some of our acts that were poorly thought out, some of our excesses, cases of sectarianism, and incidents involving the church and believers. These were cleverly seized upon in attempts to show that the exercise of constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom was being interferred with in our socialist society. This gave rise to a tendency on the part of some ecclesiastic forums to represent themselves as the guardians of the citizen's religious freedom. Such cases did not arise out of misunderstanding, they were rather a repudiation of the essence of our society and social relationships which guarantee and protect the religious freedom along with other civil liberties. These rights and liberties are protected by the existing self-managing structures and sociopolitical relations and their observance requires no intercession by the Church.

If we want to become more familiar with these problems at least something should be said about the general state of world affairs. It is a fact that today the Catholic Church and the Vatican are trying to establish their global strategy with respect to events and movements of the modern world. The reasons for this are so clear that they should require no separate discussion.

Today the church is certainly trying to take a position with respect to the essential problems of the world starting with its views on the global socioeconomic systems such as capitalism and socialism and going all the way to the views on Marxism, the communist parties, differences in the communist movement, differences between the socialist countries, class struggle, private property, and so on. The need for defining these positions stems to a great extent from the fact that the Catholic Church has been engulfed by certain processes which require that it obtain some kind of answers to these questions which would be on the whole the expression of its internal

configuration of forces. All the movements of the Catholic Church in the world also influence the Catholic Church in Croatia which is none too independent in this respect.

To problems important for our discussion belongs also the problem of depoliticizing the church and religious awareness. Primarily because this is in a sense a condition for continued existence of the church in our society. I shall try to indicate on what factors this process depends. I shall confine myself to three general areas.

The first is certainly the practical implementation of our position that the question of religion is not to be treated as a political question. Here, accordingly, I have in mind everything we understand under the Marxist approach to religion.

The second is the actual situation concerning involvement of the widest possible circle of the working people and citizens in the building of our socialist self-managing relations regardless of whether they are religious or not.

The third is the subjective willingness and readiness of the church as a whole to accept such direction.

The question immediately arises as to whether such readiness exists.

It must be said to have a complete answer that there are differences on this point within the ecclesiastic communities. For a complete answer one would, of course, require a complete analysis. We have, however, made no complete analysis. However, even a cursory review of some aspects of ecclesiastic life and documents relating to politics and society, their interpretations and, particularly in this country, statements of ecclesiastic hierarchs in sermons and the press, their religious activity as well as the actual practice of ecclesiastic organizations, reveals that the church not only desires but is also actively endeavoring to enhance its presence in the sociopolitical life of our community.

This gives rise to the question by what standard can one decide between secular and spiritual activities. Under the present circumstances we normally say that the Church is reaching beyond the spiritual domain. This is denied by ecclesiastic circles with the explanation that they are not transcending their domain at all, only their standards of what constitutes a religious activity are somewhat different. Consider, for example, the following statement by a respected Catholic theologian: "The Ecumenical Council insists on a general political education of citizens as well as on their obligation to express their moral judgment about everything, including the matters concerning political activity." I think that we can draw some fairly clear inferences from this analysis, superficial as it may be.

I do not propose to elaborate on the endeavors of the church directed at modernizing its activities. It is no coincidence, however, that there is so much discussion of renewal, reform, and adaptation of the Church precisely

at this time. They would like to discover the causes of the increasingly more widespread indifference and atheism in which connection our society is frequently being blamed for being a threat to religion and religious freedom, although such accusations are without foundation.

Some Questions on Practicality of Political Involvement of the League of Communists With Respect to Relationships With the Church and Religion

It is extremely important that we communists make a clear distinction between certain things. We must distinguish between the church and religion. I shall not dwell on this point because this has already been discussed. First of all, however, we must know how to distinguish between clericalism and religious belief. I say this because it happens that the two concepts are confused and mistakenly considered to be the same thing. Such mistaken identity can lead to improper moves. We must likewise distinguish between the political involvement of the church and the political involvement of religious persons, their involvement as citizens of our socialist community. In our practice it is essential that we distinguish between religious convictions and attendance at religious services. Here, too, we cannot throw everything in the same bag if for no other eason because mere attendance at religious services cannot be the determinant of whether a person is religious or not. Some people occasionally attend religious services because of custom, tradition, habit or even to conform with their environment. I might add that sometimes this also happens because of the paucity of cultural and social events and entertainment.

The LCY attitude toward religion must be based on principle without our Marxist critical views becoming ideologically blunted. The LCY must form and maintain a unified ideological position which must be creatively applied in each particular case connected with specific problems that should be solved. If we did not act in this way we would be creating a social structure with prescribed standardized procedures for every contingency. Accordingly, it is much more important for us to have a unified ideological basis for our action. And this is what we must insist upon.

In asserting that we cannot identify religious activity as clericalism nor a religious person as an adherent of clericalism it is appropriate to emphasize at the same time that associations of this kind do occur and that they sometimes will enter our subconscious mind against our will. Some occurrences have indicated that mass participation in religious services is in some quarters identified with clericalism or viewed as its principal outward manifestation.

It is, therefore, necessary to be able to distinguish between religion and clericalism. The position of the party with respect to the latter is perfectly clear: it must be fought with all political resources at our disposal.

What is the essence of clericalism? Without attempting to offer a precise definition we can say that it represents, in our circumstances, primarily an

endeavor having as its objective manipulation of the believers for political purposes, or an attempt to abuse the Church and religion for political ends, that is, a tendency to organize certain categories of believers into separate groups in society which--formally or informally organized--would take part within the forms of our self-managing socialist democracy. This is, for example, insistence that the Catholic social norms are mandatory and the only ones leading to salvation, advocacy of the views of the church and faith--naturally not only in matters of religion--as the only possible basis for the world order, endeavors to make religious and ecclesiastic views equal and coextensive in public life with our policy in certain important spheres of society's work such as, for instance, in education, and so on. Accordingly, it is clear why must we achieve an in-depth penetration to the care of clericalism as the most reactionary form of the church's antisocialist activity.

Furthermore, we must draw attention to the fact that religious activity is increasing. It is even possible to illustrate this fact. It is necessary to realize that the number of believers in our country did not increase but is decreasing. Perhaps we could say that what is increasing is the number of those who freely express their religious convictions and that precisely this increased intensity of religious activity is a manifestation of the crises of the church, a crisis which the church is trying to overcome with an intensified subjective campaign.

On the other hand it is, of course, necessary to establish to what extent this increase in religious activity is a result of our own shortcomings, creating a vacuum which actually occurred in some instances because of lack of our presence in the entire domain of social activism, because of the paucity of cultural and social life, because of a certain lag in material and intellectual standards, and so on. It should be borne in mind that the socialled adaptation of the church is seizing on precisely these things offering in their stead its own programs.

We shall try to explain by a recent example how the above mentioned political tendency reveals itself. It is well known that this year's as well as last year's activity of the Catholic Church was characterized by the "Croatian year of St Mary" with the concluding festivity in Solin as a finale. We know that the extensive preparations set the tune for the overall activity of the church. In this connection, to put it briefly, some political tendencies of the Catholic Church came to light. These were primarily along the lines of identifying the Croatian nationality with the idea of a Catholic. Within the context of tendencies to make the Catholic Church appear as the protagonist and defender of the supposedly threatened national interests recourse is being made--and this both in a crude as well as in a subtle way--the use of terms such as, for instance, "Catholic National Pilgrimage," "Croatian Year of St Mary," "Croatian Church," and so on. A tendency to exploit events in Croatian national history to suite the purposes of clericalism also became apparent. Efforts were being made to base these festivities on a "wide popular basis," and to have them unfold under the aegis of "renewal, and revival of faith in the Croatian people." This

tendency also became apparent last year during the preparations for the pilgrimage to Rome and again during the preparations for and throughout the "Croatian Year of St Mary."

The fact is that the concluding festivities in Solin were not attended by 100,000 believers as had been expected but only some 25,000 although the ecclesiastic circles still maintain, and that by no coincidence, that there were between 50,000 to 100,000 people in attendance. Apparently the outcome of this ecclesiastic affair was not so successful as was expected. So far as the concluding celebration in Solin is concerned, it is true that it unfolded without incidents. Significant, however, was the tenor of some speeches by ecclesiastic dignitaries. In this connection I shall quote, among other things, only some conclusions and "messages" intended for the believers. Thus, for instance, the speakers would say that neither Europe nor the world can be saved by economic and cultural progress but only by turning to God and Christ. There was talk that materialism is ashamed of itself. Atheism was being judged as the great temptation of our times, while the struggle against arrogant atheism was held to be the supreme test of our times. Likewise, they made pronouncements on what was the cause of damnation yesterday and what it is today. Yesterday the peril was for the people to fall into heresy, while now the danger is atheism. In view of this it is no coincidence that GLAS CONCILA [The Voice of the Ecumenical Council] a few months ago made it very clear that it was a far greater sin to marry an atheist than a person of another faith. One could also hear our society characterized as a society where being honest is supposedly considered a shame, where honesty is subject to derision or where persons who attend religious instructions are harassed. It was mentioned that some parents were afraid to send their children to religious instruction because they felt it was "not the safe thing to do" and were waiting for better days to come. (What better days?) On that occasion, as well as on many other before the representatives of the church exploited some social problems such as , for instance, crime by purporting it to be "evidence" that religious ethics is lacking and blaming the present educational process and society as a whole for it. Such instances constitute not only attempts at representing our society as being "not suitable" for religious persons and religious liberty but also attempts at creating an unacceptably negative political attitude. The positions and views described above, although not necessarily warranting a general and final conclusion, are indicative of a peculiar neurosis of the church and reveal some of its aspirations along with a tendency toward political involvement.

Thus far I have tried to indicate and outline some of the problems encountered in the practical process of implementing the LCY policy on these questions, concerned it can be said, without being complacent, of course, that we are fully satisfied with its implementation. Our actions are in accordance with the positions and policies of the LCY. Any shortcomings that we may have are shortcomings that are always discussed when we are analyzing our efforts, successes, and shortcomings in the process of building the self-managing socialist relations and when we critically examine the LCY

practices. These shortcomings must, of course, be accentuated and critically analyzed with special care because this is the principle of operation on which the conduct of the LCY is based.

Although we can be satisfied with the implementation of the LCY policy toward the church and religion as a whole it must nevertheless be emphasized that instances of vacillation in carrying out the policy toward the religious communities do occur here and there. It is understandable that the majority of the LCY membership accepts, rationally interprets, and faithfully carries out the idea of this policy. It happens, however, that some will loyally carry out this policy without being convinced that it is correct. These are the instances of peculiar social indifference toward such problems because inadequate understanding and one's own poor acceptance of the LCY policy exerts a negative influence with respect to creative approach toward solution of specific problems. This is manifested particularly by failure to become involved and by expecting some kind of a universal "prescription" for specific situations. I think, that it is from time to time also a matter of a peculiar skepticism that is appearing in our own ranks with respect to our policy. In such cases some even think that our policy is too liberal and seek quietly or openly to disassociate themselves from it.

Of particular importance for us is to realize that the church is adroitly maneuvering into areas where we are insufficiently active or not active at all. These are various areas of life and work ranging from medical and social care, education, recreation, and the like. Accordingly, a real opportunity for intensified activities of the church is created wherever our work is inadequate.

In the critical evaluation of our own activities it is especially important to analyze what is happening to our ideological attitude toward the problems we are discussing today: whether we are to treat them as problems of a peculiar struggle against religion or as problems of abolition of social circumstances voiding religion as a form of alienation. Furthermore: how is the process of the working people's and citizens' mobilization for implementing the planned goals unfolding at this stage. Without widespread gathering and cooperation of the widest strata of working people and citizens it will not be possible to continue building the socialist self-managing society. Of particular importance is the way in which this process is unfolding from day to day, in all life and work situations, in the working of the Socialist Alliance [of Working People] and other oganizations. In this we do not pose the question of mobilizing the believers in the political sense but rather the question of mobilizing the working people and citizens because religious conviction is a private affair of each individual person. Moreover, on this broad front of the struggle for further development of our socialist self-managing society we evaluate people from the sociopolitical point of view with respect to their contribution to this struggle and not with respect to whether a person is a believer or an atheist. We must be aware of the fact that a policy that would in our circumstances restrict the scope of this struggle by an apriori classification of self-managing people into believers and nonbelievers has no great prospects of success.

In this connection we must be particularly critical toward occurrences of sectarianism and sectarian attitudes toward these problems. The reason for being critical does not lie in the fact that occurrences of sectarianism are exploited by the church but rather in the fact that they are not compatible with the position and policies of the LCY.

At the same time we must be particularly sensitive to occurrences whereby our own apathy creates vacuums for others to move in, to opportunism, and inadequate resistance of those activities of the church that are unacceptable to us. It is imperative that we examine by specific examples how we are implementing our policy toward the church and religion. Let me mention only one example: we cannot continuously keep intervening with the tourist and transportation enterprises to stop being extensions of certain activities of the church for all practical purposes. Quite a few of these enterprises occasionally confuse the commercial and sociopolitical standards of their conduct and turn into aggressive propagandizers trying to sell various undertakings of the church. The problem is not in the fact that these enterprises provide transportation of pilgrims to Rome, Solin or elsewhere but in their assuming the role of advertising agencies for certain areas of the church's activities.

The question arises as to what the LCY is doing in such situations. The question of whether it will, in implementing this thematic, merely remain at the theoretical treatment of the LCY positions toward religion or will in addition to this critically examine its actual practice.

Undoubtedly, a whole host of problems is encountered in the process of carrying out the above described policy of the LCY. There are specific situations and occurrences with respect to which a stand must be taken so that a solution may be worked out. It is understandable that this necessarily requires that we become familiar with, understand, accept and creatively assert the LCY policy. It is erroneous to reduce our dealings with these questions solely to demands for solving the specific problem at hand and to answers as to how can this be accomplished if we neglect or exclude the striving for our own ideopolitical improvement, Marxist education, and Marxist conception of religion. In such situations it is being forgotten that it will be more difficult to solve the specific problem in accordance with our policy and ideological approach.

What are the questions with which we are frequently confronted and to which we must give an answer? Let me enumerate a few at random: can the school-teacher be a believer, what to do with a believer who is a teacher; what to do with an LCY member who takes part in religious activities and services in the church; what about an LCY member whose wife goes to church; what with an LCY member whose children attend religious instruction; what with a priest whose conduct is hostile; what to do with an application for a permit to build a church; what action to take in instances when the bounds of religious activities have been exceeded by ecclesiastic activities, and the like.

Naturally, it is impossible to provide and answer to these questions here. We cannot give a prescription for handling them because from the questions alone we cannot learn enough about the specific situations and circumstances. However, in answering these questions we must have in mind our common communist basis, the LCY policy toward the church and religion. We must be particularly cognizant of the fact that religion and religious conviction cannot be legislated out of existence by decree and that religion and believers at this time represent a fact of life which cannot be made to disappear regardless of our desires to that effect. And, moreover, that in our country, where all believers are guaranteed the freedom of expressing their religious feelings and the right to their own religious convictions, it is not possible to classify the citizens as believers or nonbelievers. We must distinguish religious convictions from clericalism. The former is a private affair of the citizen while the latter is an object of political confrontation. If this is understood and accepted in the same way as are the other elements of the LCY policy it will be easier to find answers to the above questions and creatively approach the solution of specific problems. Then we shall not evaluate individuals on the basis of their religious views (except in the case of communists), on the basis of their participation at religious services in the church, we shall not, for example, evaluate a communist solely on the basis of his wife's religious conviction and the fact that he attended some funeral at which religious services were held, and the like. Instead, everybody will be evaluated on the basis of his overall conduct and activity in accordance with his contribution to the building of our socialist self-managing society.

All this could be, perhaps, more accurately illustrated with the problem of educational work in the school or, in other words, with the problem of the educational worker's attitude toward religious views.

Our society insists on the right to set its ideological basis at the foundation of education. In this connection we repudiate any and all attempts of the church to influence the educational process. Our schools must be ideologically determined and directed. Its educational work must be based on the Marxist view of nature, society and man. Because of this we resolutely reject any negation of this basic premise, any advocacy of some kind of "neutral school," and the like.

We realize that our educators like other categories of the working people are not living in a vacuum. The answer to the question of whether we have educators who are religious is in the affirmative. It is difficult to say how many of these there are because we have not been compiling lists for various categories showing who was religious and who was not. In fact, this would be even difficult to ascertain. Likewise, it is true that the area of education has been neglected for a long time. We also know of vacillations.

Accordingly, it should be confirmed that we also have religious people among the educators. We should, however, also be aware of the fact that there are in all likelihood other convictions held by some of our educators that are equally unacceptable to the LCY. In evaluating the performance of an

educator our primary criterion is not whether he is a believer or not, our primary criterion is how he is achieving the objectives of our socialist education. It would be unrealistic to expect that we shall be able to conjure up overnight with a magic wand the exact set of values and ideological profile of an educator which would suite the objectives of our education. The matters are much more involved. On the other hand—whom can we kick out of the school? Probably those who are militant believers and act to advance the cause of clericalism. Here no dilemma exists as to whether he can be an educator. Because we are at war with clericalism, we are also at war with its protagonists.

However, this is only part of the answer to the question. The problem is what to do with those who do not even reveal this part of their convictions. Moreover, because of our policy enacted in the constitution we do not insist and we must not apriori insist on the question of who is a believer and who is not. Instead, we must inquire whether the educator on the whole is accomplishing his everyday's work required of him by the educational program, that is, a syllabus and plan for learning conceived upon the Marxist view of the world which is our ideological basis. Accordingly, it is a matter of inquiring how much he contributes toward the implementing of this cardinal objective of the educational process. On this basis it can then be more appropriately shown whether such an educator performs satisfactorily or what to do with him if he does not. Another thing is why there are difficulties in evaluating the performance of educators along these lines in practice. One of the reasons is probably because all the declarations notwithstanding we are still not evaluating the ethical upbringing along with the education at the same level. The ethical upbringing in the school is still not evaluated, we have not yet placed it on the same level as the upbringing as a goal.

On the other hand this problem can obviously not be resolved until the situation within those educational institutions which turn out educators is changed. We must be cognizant of the situation and of the selection process, who is admitted to these schools and what is being done today so that 10 years hence we can have educators having a profile that would enable them creatively to carry out their assignments as workers in the socialist education.

In conclusion let me add this: it is truly impossible to provide a general prescription or a general rule for solving every specific problem and situation. I am confident, however, that we shall advance the farther, the better we in the LCY can master the broad conceptual approach to the problem under discussion and the more capable we become, through mastering of this conceptual approach, to handle consistently every specific question. In this we must always realize that our socialist self-managing society is precisely that material process through which people are liberated from the influences of religion and religious belief and which at the same time removes every kind of alienation, including the one due to religion.

12070

## JASA ZLOBEC POEMS PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] The Maribor daily VECER devoted a column of page 4 of its 20 December 1976 issue to Jasa Zlobec and three of his original poems. Jasa Zlobec was prominent in the early 70's in the "New Left" movement at Ljubljana University and was associated with the student monthly TRIBUNA, which at that time took on the appearance and attitude of an "underground" newspaper. Zlobec was in trouble with authorities off and on, and eventually disappeared from public mention. In the VECER article, his biography is given as follows:

"Jasa Zlobec is a poet of the younger generation. Until now, he mainly published in periodicals (SODOBNOST). This year, he published a poetry journal No 29 called ZELENI BUNKER [Green Bunker] via the Lipa Publishing House in Koper jointly with the Trieste Press Publishing House. Recently, the State Publishing House of Slovenia published a collection of poems, MLADO JUTRO [Young Dawn] for him. The novelty that it brings into Slovenian poetry is reflected mainly in his language, which opens new communications possibilities for him.

"We are publishing three poems from his new collection, MLADO JUTRO:

Most of All

"Glorification of the flesh

is the lance in your stomach

is the line of your 'what'

is the limit of your 'who'

your body and mine are destiny.

# Softly

"What endless beauty has the blanket of powdery snow

Like a beautiful woman in white there is no jarring, no shocks, no sharp edges in white force.

Thank you! thank you! waves of cotton lake lily bed of whiteness.

Legacy

"Sleep, sleep
lock yourself in your theme
sleep through
an eternity of reckoning

You will awaken and will depart in the dead of the night

alone.

Through an ocean of melancholy deaths Where the sterile buds are an emptiness of memories

END

of life my son."